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THE CONVERSION OF EUROPE

BY

CHARLES HENRY ROBINSON, D.D.

HON. CANON OF RIPON
AND EDITORIAL SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION
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PREFACE

The books dealing with missionary work outside the continent of Europe that have been published during the present generation are sufficient in number to fill a large library; but during this period not a single volume has appeared in England, America or Germany, which gives a detailed account of the work done by the missionaries who first preached the Christian faith in the various countries of Europe. In view of this fact, no apology is needed for the publication of a book which attempts to cover this long-neglected ground. In collecting materials for the present volume I have tried to go back in every case to the earliest existing authorities, and in the footnotes and the bibliography provided I have indicated whence the information given in the text has been obtained.

I have not found it possible to arrange the chapters in a completely satisfactory chronological order. The missionary work in Europe began in the Balkan Peninsula and in Italy; but, as the whole of these countries did not become nominally Christian until Ireland and a large part of Great Britain had been evangelized, it seemed best to place the countries in the order in which Christianity became generally established as the religion of its peoples.

For the opportunity of consulting some of the books to which reference is made, and of which few copies

exist, I have been indebted to the collection of books in various continental languages bequeathed by the late Lord Acton to the Cambridge University Library.

I desire to express my gratitude to the Rev. Dr. Lawlor, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin, and to the Rev. C. T. Wood, Fellow and Dean of Queen's College, Cambridge, for their kindness in reading the proofs of this book and for many helpful suggestions. The substance of several of the chapters has appeared in the pages of *The East and The West*, quarterly review.

C. H. R.

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THE CONVERSION OF EUROPE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Missions in early times.

THE study of the spread of the Christian faith throughout Europe should have for us a twofold interest. In the first place it should help towards an intelligent appreciation of the later developments of religious life that are to be seen to-day amongst the various peoples of Europe. A knowledge of the circumstances under which the conversion of a particular race was effected will often throw light upon the subsequent evolution of its individual and national religion and may in some instances help us to interpret its subsequent history.

Their modern results.

The knowledge, for instance, that Christianity only displaced paganism in some parts of modern Prussia during the fourteenth century and that the people who were then converted, after being treated with every refinement of cruelty, were finally given the choice of death or conversion, may help us to understand, and should mitigate our denunciation of, the barbarities that have been committed by descendants of these converts in the course of the recent war. If the British, the French and the Italians have departed less widely than have the Prussians from the dictates of Christianity in their conduct of the war, they have had resting

upon them obligations created by the fact that Christian influences have been working amongst them for more than twice as long as amongst their northern foes.

In the second place a study of the work accomplished by Christian missionaries during the first fourteen centuries should throw light upon many of the problems that confront their successors in all parts of the Mission Field to-day. If the politician or social reformer is bound to acquaint himself with the history of the past and with the efforts that have been made by his predecessors in all lands to ameliorate the conditions of human existence, a similar obligation rests upon those who are trying to minister to the deepest needs of men. It can only be by a careful and prolonged study of past missionary efforts that we can hope to benefit by the experience, and to avoid the mistakes, of those who have gone before and to whose efforts we are indebted for our own knowledge of the Christian faith.

Light thrown upon present-day problems.

The very fact that a space of fourteen centuries separates the day on which "strangers from Rome" listened to St. Peter's first missionary sermon, delivered at the Feast of Pentecost, from the day when the nominal, we dare not say the real, conversion of Europe was completed, whilst it should serve to rebuke the impatience of those who are dissatisfied with the progress of Christian Missions in modern times, suggests also that there was something lacking either in the contents of the message delivered by the pioneer missionaries in Europe, or in the methods by which they sought to proclaim their message. If the Christian Church of to-day is to possess any real missionary policy,

and if it is to avoid the mistakes committed by missionaries in the past, it is clear that an obligation rests upon its members to study with care the records of missionary enterprise that have been preserved.

The first difficulty with which the student of Missions in Europe is confronted is raised by the paucity of his materials, and the unsatisfactory nature of those which are available. Anyone who has made himself familiar, whether by study or personal observation, with the methods employed in the Mission Field to-day and with the conditions under which missionary work is being carried on, and who desires to institute a comparison between the labours of a modern missionary and those of the men to whom the conversion of Europe was due is confronted by serious difficulties. When he attempts to get back to the earliest existing sources of information he discovers that, whilst there is often a superabundance of ecclesiastical information available, there is a sad dearth of materials that shed light upon the life and work of the men who accomplished the humble task of ordinary missionaries. To learn the number or the names of the bishops who occupied particular sees, or even the dates at which the sees were established, is of comparatively small interest to anyone who desires to enter into and appreciate the labours of those by whom the task of evangelization was actually accomplished. In the case of Great Britain and Ireland the materials are more abundant than elsewhere, but even in these countries they are all too scanty. How much would we give to know by what means and under what conditions the Gospel was first preached to the various tribes on the continent of Europe who

Paucity of historical materials.

Arian Missions.

were led, at a very early date, to adopt a profession of Christianity, as for example, the Visigoths in France, the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, the Suevians in Spain, the Gepidæ, the Vandals, the followers of Odoacer and the Lombards? One, perhaps the chief, reason for the dearth of information in these particular instances is that all these tribes were converted by Arian missionaries whom their orthodox successors regarded with such disfavour that they did not think it worth while to preserve, or hand down, any account of their labours. The only Arian missionary of whose work we can form any clear conception is Ulfilas the Apostle of the Goths (318-374), whose life, written by one of his own pupils, has happily survived. But even in his case the materials that have survived are hardly more than sufficient to accentuate our longing to recover those that have been lost. Of the available materials which throw light upon the methods adopted by the early missionaries, some of the most valuable for the continent of Europe, as distinguished from Great Britain and Ireland, are the letters of the early popes which have been preserved at Rome. It is true that we have a number of missionary biographies, but these were for the most part written so many years, or even centuries, after the death of the missionaries that they are of small historic value, and, even when the writers were their contemporaries, as were the biographers of Martin of Tours, of Gregory of Poitiers, of Severinus of Noricum, of Boniface, or of Columbanus, they dwell so much upon the asceticism, the endurance and the miraculous powers of their subjects, that they have little time to tell us of their modes of teaching or of

Missionary biographies.

the means by which they endeavoured to adapt their message to the varying needs of the peoples amongst whom they laboured. In a few instances, *e.g.* in the case of Patrick, Columbanus, Martin, Boniface and some others, we have letters or confessions preserved which, though they tell us little concerning the methods of missionary work that the writers adopted, nevertheless throw valuable light upon their own characters and idiosyncrasies and help us to realize the times in which they lived. It is only by a long and diligent examination of many different sources of information[1] that it is possible, to any extent, to picture to ourselves the scenes amongst which the pioneer missionaries in Europe moved, or to draw from their experiences any useful deductions in view of the prosecution of missionary work throughout the world to-day. The more we study the story of the past the more we feel that there is no appellation of which any human being has better cause to be humbly proud than that of "Christian missionary." Wherever the foot of man has trod the missionary has followed, inspired by love to his Master and by the belief that the revelation of this love is the one only cure for the world's sorrow. He has traversed seas, threaded his way through forests, braved starvation and want amidst hostile tribes: misunderstood, ridiculed, persecuted and tortured, he has shown himself to be the sympathetic friend of all and has ministered to the wants alike of their souls and their bodies. He has shunned no difficulty and been daunted by no danger, but has rebuked sin, worked righteousness and wrought reform amongst

The title "Christian missionary."

[1] For a list of some of these sources see Bibliography, p. 575 ff.

all races with whom he has lived. His only visible weapon of attack has been a book, his only means of defence the "shield of prayer." Whilst conscious of his many shortcomings and repeated failures, he has been upheld by the conviction that amidst all his sorrows and difficulties his divine Master walked ever by his side, and by the knowledge that the task to which He called him was divine.

The story of the conversion of Europe, if it could be adequately told, would form the most wonderful and inspiring volume which, apart from the Bible, has ever been produced. Its glory and inspiration can in some faint degree be discerned from the perusal of the narratives that have been preserved and which it is possible to accept as history.

Missionary saints.

Professor William James speaks of the typical Christian saint as "an effective ferment of goodness." The expression might justly be applied to the early missionaries the influence of whose lives, apart altogether from their teaching, tended to leaven with a Christian leaven the heathen mass on which their influence was exerted. His description of the rôle accomplished by the "saints" is applicable to many of the pioneers of Missions in Europe.

Their witnes to the world.

After pointing out that Christianity stands for a belief that "every soul is virtually sacred" and that we must despair of no one, he writes: "The saints with their extravagance of human tenderness are the great torch-bearers of this belief, the tip of the wedge, the clearers of the darkness. Like the single drops which sparkle in the sun as they are flung far ahead of the advancing wave-crest or of a flood, they show

the way and are forerunners . . . they are impregnators of the world, vivifiers and animators of potentialities of goodness which, but for them, would lie for ever dormant. It is not possible to be quite as mean as we naturally are when they have passed before us. One fire kindles another, and without that overtrust in human worth which they show, the rest of us would lie in spiritual stagnancy." [1]

"It is not the primary function of the Church to diffuse an elevating influence over the world," says another modern writer; "its primary function is to make saints . . . in order that it may really *convert* the world." [2]

Early references to Christian missionaries.

The writings of the Fathers contain hardly more than a few fragmentary references to the missionary activities of the early Christians. We may perhaps interpret the allusion in the Third Epistle of St. John to those who, "for the sake of the Name, went forth taking nothing of the Gentiles," as referring to missionaries who were accustomed to receive nothing from those whom they sought to convert. Eusebius referring to the missionary work carried on by the generation of Christians which succeeded that of the apostolic age, writes: "Very many of the disciples of that age (pupils of the apostles) whose heart had been ravished by the divine Word with a burning love for philosophy [*i.e.* asceticism] had first fulfilled the command of the Saviour and divided their goods among the needy. Then they set out on long journeys performing the office of evangelists, eagerly striving to preach Christ

Statement by Eusebius.

[1] *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 357 f.

[2] *The English Saints*, W. H. Hutton, p. 3.

to those who, as yet, had never heard the word of faith, and to deliver to them the holy gospels. In foreign lands they merely laid the foundations of the faith, and afterwards they appointed others as shepherds, entrusting them with the care of those who had been recently brought into (the Church), while they themselves proceeded with the grace and co-operation of God to other countries, and to other peoples." [1]

The *Didache*.

From the *Didache* we learn that there were itinerant missionaries who bore the title of "apostle" at the beginning of the second century.[2] "Origen and Eusebius assure us that they existed during the second century and Origen indeed knows of such even in his own day, but the name of 'apostle' was no longer borne, owing to the heightened reverence felt for the original apostles, and also owing to the idea, which gained currency even in the course of the second century, that the original apostles had already preached the gospel to the whole world. This idea prevented any subsequent missionaries from being apostles, since they were no longer the first to preach the gospel to the nations." [3]

The title Apostle.

Statement by Origen.

Writing in the third century Origen declares that it is a distinguishing characteristic of a Christian to act as a missionary to others. Thus he writes, "Christians do all in their power to spread the faith all over the world. Some of them accordingly make it the business of their life to wander not only from city to city but

[1] *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 37.

[2] Recent critics are disposed to assign a later date and a lower value to the historical statements contained in the *Didache* than were formerly accorded to them.

[3] Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, i. 349.

from township to township and village to village in order to gain fresh converts for the Lord."[1]

In order to form any adequate conception of the missionary efforts that resulted in the conversion of Europe, it is necessary to take into consideration the part played by monasteries and monks.

Missionary monks.

With the exception of Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose of Milan, Leo the Great, and a very few others, all the great teachers in the Christian Church during the fourth and fifth centuries were monks, or had been trained in monasteries.

Origin of monasticism.

Pacome (292-348) introduced monasticism into Egypt and by 356 a single town, Oxyrhynchus, is said to have contained 10,000 monks and 20,000 consecrated virgins. Monasteries were first established in Italy in the middle of the fourth century by Athanasius and his followers, and a great impetus to their expansion was given by the writings of Jerome and Augustine. The first monastery in Gaul was founded by Martin of Tours in 360 at Ligugé near Poitiers. He founded another soon afterwards at Marmoutier. About 400[2] Honoratus founded the still more famous monastery of Lerins on an island near Toulon. By the end of the fifth century monasteries had been established in nearly all the provinces of the Roman Empire, many of which, being on the borders of the empire, were in touch with the barbarians who lay beyond.

Spiritual decline of the monasteries in 5th century.

By the end of this century, however, the spiritual life of the monasteries had begun to ebb. Thus Montalembert writes of monachism, before the time of St. Benedict :—

[1] *Contra Celsum*, iii. 9.

[2] The exact date is uncertain. *Cf.* Scott-Holmes, *The C. Ch. in Gaul*, p. 284 note.

"In the West towards the end of the fifth century the cenobitical institution seemed to have fallen into the torpor and sterility of the East. After St. Jerome, who died in 420, and St. Augustine, who died in 430, after the Fathers of Lerins, whose splendour paled towards 450, there was a kind of eclipse. Condat still shone alone upon its heights of the Jura up to the beginning of the sixth century. . . . Except in Ireland and Gaul, where in most of the provinces some new foundations rose, a general interruption was observable in the extension of the institution, whether because the final triumph of the barbarian invasion had stifled for a time the efforts of zeal and troubled the fountain of life at which these victorious races were to assuage their thirst, or that intervals of apparent inaction are necessary to the creations of Christian genius as to the forces of nature, in order to prepare them for the decisive evolutions of their destiny." [1]

A monastic revival.

Later on, when monasticism had obtained a new lease of life, monks, filled with missionary zeal, spread over Gaul, Germany, Switzerland, Friesland and Scandinavia. In Ireland and Scotland the whole organization of the Church became monastic. The conversion of the Saxons was planned and initiated by monks and, when the north of England relapsed into heathenism, it was reconverted by monks from Scotland. The writer whom we have just quoted speaks in another passage of "the superhuman efforts made during five centuries [the sixth to the eleventh] by legions of monks, perpetually renewed, to subdue, to pacify, to discipline and to purify the savage nations amongst

[1] *Monks of the West*, i. p. 514 f.

whom they laboured, and of whom twenty barbarous tribes were successively transformed into Christian nations." [1]

Development of monastic ideals.

Monasticism as originally conceived did not seem likely to serve as an important factor in the conversion of the non-Christian world. In many, perhaps we should be justified in saying in most, cases monasticism stood for individualism in so far as it tended to encourage the monk to place first the saving of his own soul and the development of his own spiritual life.[2] It was the success with which the latter object was achieved that begat within the monastic community, or within the breast of the individual monk, the recognition of the missionary obligation and which transformed many of the monasteries, especially in the north of Europe, into missionary seminaries. Thus it came about that the monk, whose foremost aim in seeking admission into the monastery had been the salvation of his own soul, became the most successful of missionaries for the salvation of others.

No other agency available.

Whatever views we may hold in regard to the employment of monks, or of celibate clergy, as missionaries to-day, we cannot but admit that under the conditions which prevailed throughout Europe in early mediæval times the work that they accomplished could not have been accomplished with the same measure of success by any other agency. A body of married missionaries, dependent for their support upon the goodwill of autocratic and pagan chiefs, would have lacked the spirit

[1] Id. i. 5.

[2] Thus Montalembert refers to the early monks as "occupied above all in opening to themselves the way to heaven."—*M. of the W.*, i. 19.

of independence and enterprise which was essential for the successful prosecution of such work. At the same time it has to be admitted that the inability of the monks to set before their pagan hearers the picture of a Christian home, or a complete representation of the Christian life, limited their usefulness and tended to produce a one-sided type of Christianity.

Limitations of their outlook.

Thus Professor Hauck suggests that the interpretation of Christian ideals which the monks set before the world tended to hinder its acceptance by the educated classes. He quotes the poet Namatian as saying "the men who shunned the light, who called themselves by a Greek name, 'monks,' were to him an enigma, and repelled him; he did not understand why anyone should flee from good fortune and willingly become miserable . . . and should imagine that the Godhead should feed on dirt, and he experienced something like hatred towards men whom he judged practised a worse magic than Circe, for whilst she only transformed men's bodies, they transformed men's souls."[1] He notes that on the death of Martin of Tours the people chose Brictius who was an opponent of asceticism as his successor.

There is doubtless a measure of truth in this criticism in so far as it concerns the influence exerted upon the educated and cultured classes, but over against it we must set the far-reaching influence which the life of a Christian community exerted upon uncivilized peoples. Thus Dr. Skene, comparing the evangelistic methods adopted by individual missionaries and by those who lived together as monks, writes: "The monastic

Their methods of work.

[1] Hauck, *K. D.* i. 57 f. Namatian, *de redit*, i. 439 ff. and 517.

missionaries did not commence their work, as the earlier secular Church would have done, by arguing against their idolatry, superstition and immorality, and preaching a purer faith, but they opposed to it the antagonistic characteristics and purer life of Christianity. . . . They exhibited a life of purity, holiness and self-denial. They exercised charity and benevolence and they forced the respect of the surrounding pagans to a life the motives of which they could not comprehend, unless they resulted from principles higher than those their pagan religion afforded them; and having won their respect for their lives, and their gratitude for their benevolence, these monastic missionaries went among them with the Word of God in their hands, and preached to them the doctrines and pure morality of the Word of Life." [1]

In describing the work accomplished by missionary monks in the several countries of Europe we shall find frequent illustrations of the truth of the above description.

The material support of missionaries.

It has sometimes been suggested by critics of modern missionary methods that to form missionary societies with the object of sending out and affording material support to missionaries in non-Christian countries is to adopt a method that is opposed in principle to the methods by which Missions were maintained in earlier times. It has been asserted that Missions ought to be self-supporting, and the example of St. Paul has been quoted as showing that a missionary ought to be able to maintain himself, if need be by his manual labour, amongst the people to whom he is

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, ii. p. 73 f.

trying to appeal.[1] The point raised is one of considerable interest and importance. The argument deduced from the example of St. Paul is seen to be of doubtful value when we recall his words addressed to the Christians at Philippi: "Ye Philippians know also that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me as touching giving and receiving but ye only. For even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity." We do not know whether any kind of missionary society was called into existence at Philippi for the support of St. Paul and his fellow-missionaries, but the principle involved in the support of missionaries at a distance from the spot where the contributions were raised and to which he gave his approval is the principle on which modern missionary societies act to-day. St. Paul's words moreover clearly show that he had not found it possible to support himself by his manual labour, or by the contributions of the people whom he was trying to evangelize.

The example of St. Paul,

When we pass on from St. Paul's missionary labours in Europe to those of a later time we find no traces of attempts on the part of individual missionaries to support themselves by the exercise of a trade or profession. When a pioneer missionary endeavoured to start a Mission he began by appealing to the ruler of the country, and as his continuance in the country in

and of later missionaries.

[1] In view of the fact that this principle has been maintained by the Quakers more strongly than by any other Body of Christians it is interesting to read in a recently published history of Quaker Missions written by the Secretary of the Friends' Missionary Association: "Quaker Missions have, in most cases, adopted the method of paid evangelists and pastors. It has seemed to be the only thing to do." (*Friends beyond Seas*, by H. T. Hodgkin, p. 235.)

which he desired to reside depended upon the goodwill of the ruler, so, having obtained this goodwill, he expected to receive from him land on which to settle and in most instances the means whereby to support himself and his followers. Thus Augustine received from Ethelbert the land on which he built his monastery, Aidan received from King Oswald the island of Lindisfarne, Willibrord in Holland received from Pepin the "assistance of his imperial authority." When Boniface was anticipating his own death, he sent an urgent request to the emperor that he would provide for the support of his fellow-missionaries after his death. In some instances attempts were made to evangelize a pagan tribe without obtaining the approval of the head of the tribe, but in such cases the missionaries were provided in advance with a sufficient supply of food and other necessaries and were not infrequently assisted by the authority, or prestige, of the king of the country from which they set out.[1] In course of time the monastery established by the pioneer missionaries became self-supporting, partly in consequence of gifts received from the king, or his subjects, and partly as the result of the labours of the monks.

Self-supporting monasteries.

One of the ways by which the early missionaries sought to provide for the sustenance and expansion of their work was by endeavouring to establish as a general custom the payment of tithes by Christians. The custom of paying tithes for the support of the clergy or for the relief of the poor began to be established towards the end of the fourth century alike in the East and the West, and was advocated by Chrysostom,

The payment of tithes.

[1] See for example the missionary expeditions of Otto in Pomerania.

Jerome, Augustine and others. The stress laid upon the obligation to give tithes for the support of the ministers of the Christian Church raised many difficulties in the paths of some of the Christian missionaries.[1] It is only fair to point out that the tithes were more often imposed on the initiative of chiefs or kings than as a direct result of the action of the missionaries.

The support of clergy in Norway.

In Norway the endowments attached to heathen temples were in many cases transferred to the Christian churches into which they had been transformed. A little later the income of the bishops was derived from the *biskopsrede*, which was a poll tax levied on every male in the diocese.[2] In the reign of Sigurd Jorsalfarer (*circ.* 1111) the payment of tithes was introduced into Norway in accordance with a vow which Sigurd had made at Jerusalem. The tithes introduced provided for the maintenance both of bishops and clergy.

Nuns as missionaries.

The establishment of nunneries in various countries at a comparatively early stage of the development of a Christian community helped to produce women of devoted and saintly character, but, if the social and political conditions had rendered it possible to try the experiment, and it had been possible to appeal to women on a large scale otherwise than through the agency of nuns, the status of women might have been indefinitely raised and the family life of the nations of Europe might have developed on more Christian lines than was actu-

[1] See remarks of Alcuin, p. 388, below.

[2] It was provided that the bishop must visit every parish in his diocese and remain in it for at least three days once every year. During this time he was to be maintained by the priest and his people. If the bishop failed to visit any parish he forfeited his claim to the *biskopsrede* from that parish for a year.

ally the case. The most notable instance in the early history of Missions of a woman exercising an influence far outside the walls of a monastery is that of Hilda. From the monastery for men and women at Whitby over which she presided five bishops "were taken."[1] Amongst the other women to whose religious influence Bede bears testimony were Ebba the Head of the monastery of Coldingham,[2] Elfled the Head of the monastery of Whitby,[3] Ethelthryth abbess of Ely,[4] and Queen Eanfled.[5]

St. Hilda.

Of the written materials of which the missionaries made use, we know comparatively little. A few specimens of questions to be answered by catechumens prior to their baptism have been preserved, and frequent references occur to courses of instruction that were given to catechumens,[6] but no catechisms, or text-books similar to those used in the Mission-field to-day have been preserved. The number of those who could read was so small and of those who could do so the proportion who could read Latin or Greek was so considerable that the Bible and liturgy were not translated into the other European languages for a long time. The most striking exception was the translation of the Bible into Gothic by Ulfilas the Apostle of the Goths. The high value which the Christian converts before the time of Con-

Missionary catechisms.

Reverence for the Holy Scriptures.

[1] Bede, *Hist.* iv. 23.
[2] iv. 25.
[3] iv. 26.
[4] iv. 19.
[5] iii. 24.
[6] For the emphasis laid upon the need of such systematic instruction see Alcuin, *Ep.* 28: Augustine, *de catechizandis rudibus*, s. 52. This treatise, which was written by Augustine at the request of a deacon of Carthage, contains a longer and a shorter mode of catechizing and instructing heathen who were willing to be taught the Christian faith. Concerning the baptism of King Cynegils (see p. 137) Bede writes: "cum rex ipse catechizatus fonte baptismi cum sua gente abluereturr," iii. 7.

stantine set upon the Holy Scriptures is evidenced by the willingness which many of them displayed during the Diocletian persecution to die rather than to give up the copies that they possessed. Their reverence for the Bible did not, however, prevent them from recognizing that the gift of inspiration was not merely a gift conferred upon men in the past, but was a power that was continually being renewed to Christians from age to age. Thus we read in the Passion of St. Philip of Heraclea (in Thrace) that when during the Diocletian persecution Hermes was threatened with torture he said: "Though thou shouldst take at our hand all our writings, dread inquisitor, so that there should appear no traces at all of this true tradition anywhere in the whole world, yet our descendants, taking thought for the memory of their fathers and for their own souls, will compose and write greater volumes, and will teach yet more strenuously the fear that we ought to pay to Christ."

Lack of vernacular Christian literature.

In studying the later development of Christian Missions in Europe we are again and again confronted with accounts of pagan reactions and with evidences that tend to show that the teaching given to the first converts was superficial and transient in its effects. The explanation is often to be found in the fact that the missionaries had not mastered the language of the peoples to whom they endeavoured to appeal, and had failed to create any kind of vernacular Christian literature.

It excites our astonishment to read of Otto baptizing 7000 converts at Pyritz after a week's instruction in the Christian faith, but when we read that even this

instruction was given through an interpreter, we are not surprised to learn that no permanent Church was established in Pomerania as the result of his labours. The comparative failure of the mission of St. Augustine is partly to be explained by the recourse which, in his first interview with Ethelbert and in his subsequent work, he was compelled to have to interpreters. In the case of Ulfilas and later on of Boniface, we have striking illustrations of the permanent results that followed the teaching of missionaries who could speak to the people in their own tongue.[1] The difficulty of the task which the missionaries, who worked for the conversion of Europe, essayed was increased by the almost complete absence of vernacular translations of the Scriptures and liturgies. In this respect there was a marked difference between the practice of the Churches of the East and West. Ulfilas in Mœsia, and Cyril and Methodius in Moravia, produced translations of the Bible and the liturgy, and the translations of the latter were used by the missionaries who helped to form the Russian Church. In the further East the Bible was translated into Syriac, Coptic, Armenian and Georgian. In the West missionaries were everywhere discouraged from translating into any vernacular language and were encouraged to use the Latin Bible and a Latin liturgy. The contrast between the two policies is illustrated by what happened in Moravia where Methodius, who came from Constantinople, extracted from Pope John VIII his reluctant consent to the continuation of the use of a liturgy

Vernacular translations of the Bible.

Translations in the East and in the West.

[1] "It was not till the rise of a priesthood of Anglo-Saxon birth under Wilfrid, or during his time, that England received true Christian instruction."—Milman, vi. 530.

in the Slavonic language, a consent which was withdrawn by a later Pope, Gregory VII.

The exclusive use of the Latin language.

Dean Stanley writes: "In every country converted by the Latin Church the Scriptures and the liturgy had been introduced, not in the vernacular language of the original or conquered population, but in the language of the government or missionaries, the Latin language of the old Empire or new Church of Rome. Our own sense and experience are sufficient to tell us what a formidable obstacle must have been created by this single cause to the mutual and general understanding of the new faith; what barriers between the conquerors and conquered, between the educated and the vulgar, above all, between the clergy and the laity. The ill effects of the tardy translation of our own Bible and Prayer-book into Irish amply indicate the probable results. In the Eastern Church on the other hand a contrary method was everywhere followed. The same principle which had led Jerome in his cell at Bethlehem to translate the Bible into what was then the one known language of the West, was adopted by the Oriental Church with regard to all the nations that came within its sphere."[1] As far as concerns translations of the Bible or the production of Christian vernacular literature more was accomplished in England than in most of the other countries of Europe which were influenced by the Church of Rome. Bishop Aldhelm produced the first Saxon Psalter, Bede translated the Gospel of St. John and possibly other portions of the Scriptures, King Alfred translated some of the Psalms, and Caedmon (d. *circ.* 680) wrote a metrical

Early English translations.

[1] *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, pp. 297 f.

paraphrase of the Bible history which exerted a wide influence upon his fellow-countrymen. On the continent the translations or vernacular paraphrases of the Bible were few and far between. A poem called the "Heliand" was composed in the dialect of Lower Saxony, at the request of the Emperor Louis the Pious, the author of which is believed to have lived in Westphalia during the ninth century. It is written in alliterative verse, and the part which has survived sets forth the life of Christ as described by the four Evangelists. Its circulation helped to consolidate the missionary work which had been accomplished amongst the Saxons.

The "Heliand" in Saxony.

Another poem entitled "Krist" and composed in German by Otfried a monk of Weissenburg, about 40 years later (868), covers much the same ground. A fragment of Muspilli, a Bavarian poem of the ninth century on the Last Judgment, shows traces of greater literary power. Its form is alliterative, and reminiscences of paganism are mingled with its Christian ideas. In the eleventh century a German paraphrase of the Psalms was written by Notker Labro, a monk at St. Gall, and a German translation and exposition of Solomon's Song by Williram of Bamberg. Fragments of an old German version of St. Matthew and of a Gospel harmony by Ammianus exist in Vienna. The Psalms also were translated into the Low German dialect.[1] Apparently no attempt was made to produce a French Bible till 1294 when a modified form of the *Historia Scholastica* by Peter Comestor, issued about 1190, was

Other religious poems.

French translations.

[1] See Neander, vi. 177: Hardwick, *Hist. of the Christian Ch. in the Middle Ages*, 208.

produced. This contained an abstract of sacred history including many absurd interpolations and glosses. After the writings of David of Dinanto had been condemned at a synod held in Paris in 1209 all theological works in the French language were burnt and forbidden. A Canon passed at the Council of Toulouse, held in 1229, rigorously condemns the use of vernacular translations.[1] In the Middle Ages it often happened that the only information in regard to the contents of the Bible which was given to the common people was embodied in religious plays the influence exerted by which was of a very mixed character. Missionaries at Riga in 1204 made use of religious plays in the hope that "those who were not Christians might by means of sight learn to believe the rudiments of the Christian faith."[2] The earliest religious play in England, "Ludus S. Catharinæ," was performed at Dunstable about 1100.

Religious plays.

Probation of candidates for baptism.

In view of the number of converts who afterwards relapsed into heathenism in the early centuries, it was found necessary to lengthen the time of testing and preparation prior to baptism. The Council of Elvira at the beginning of the fourth century ordered that candidates for baptism should have a two years' probation before being baptized.[3] The Apostolical Constitutions enact that catechumens are to be kept under instruction for three years, but direct that if men were very diligent and zealous they might be admitted

[1] Canon xiv. "Ne præmissos libros habeant in vulgari translatos, artissime inhibemus."

[2] "Ut fidei Christianæ rudimenta gentilitas fide etiam disceret oculata." See Neander, vii. 51, 52.

[3] "Eos qui ad fidem primam credulitatis accedunt, si bonæ fuerint conversationis, intra biennium placuit ad baptismi gratiam admitti debere."—Canon 42.

sooner, "because behaviour, rather than length of time, must be taken as the criterion." [1]

The Council of Agda in 506 fixed the time at eight months in the case of converts from Judaism, and gave as a ground for ordering so long a probation the reason, "because they are often found to be perfidious and to return to their own vomit again." [2] In many cases catechumens were instructed during the forty days of Lent, and were baptized on the Easter festival.[3]

Socrates [4] states that the bishop who baptized the Burgundians only spent eight days in instructing them, and many similar cases might be quoted.

As a general rule no instruction was given to catechumens relating to the Holy Communion till after their baptism.[5]

The use of force as a means of spreading the Christian faith became more and more common as time passed. Great Britain and Ireland are perhaps the only countries in Europe in which the profession of Christianity was not at one time or another spread by the threat of persecution and death, and Ireland appears to be the only country which has witnessed no Christian martyrdom. The worst instances of the use of compulsion are to be found in Prussia, Pomerania and Scandinavia. In the latter country King Hakon hastened the nominal acceptance of the faith by burning to death those who refused to be converted, whilst in Prussia the "Christian" Knights of the Sword ravaged the country for decades

The use of force as a missionary agency.

[1] L. 8, c. 32, *ὅτι οὐχ ὁ χρόνος ἀλλ' ὁ τρόπος κρίνεται.*

[2] Canon 25.

[3] *Cf.* Jerome, *Ep. ad Pammachum*, chap. iv. Cyril, *Catech.* i. 5.

[4] vii. 30.

[5] For an account of the various methods of instructing catechumens, see Bingham's *Antiquities*, x. 1, 6.

of years with a view to the conversion of its inhabitants. Those who employed force for this purpose were unfortunately able to quote the authority of some of the greatest teachers of the Church from the fourth century onwards. The first work in which forcible conversion was distinctly advocated was an appeal to Constantius and Constans to eradicate heathenism, written about 347 by Firmicus Maternus.[1] St. Augustine expressed his approval of the use of force for the conversion of heretics,[2] and it was natural to argue that if force could be efficacious for the reconversion of heretics, it would be equally efficacious and justifiable in the case of the heathen. In one of his letters he definitely expresses his approval of the capital punishment of pagans who offered sacrifices.[3]

Authority of Augustine,

Chrysostom approved of the destruction of idol temples, but disapproved of the employment of force in order to convert the heathen. Thus he writes, "It is not lawful for Christians to overthrow error by force and violence, but they should labour for

Chrysostom,

[1] *Liber de errore profanarum religionum.* See Migne, *P. L.* xii.

[2] *Epp.* 93, 185 and 139. See Harnack, *Exp. of C.* ii. p. 457.

[3] *Ep.* 93, chap. 2. He writes, "quis enim nostrum, quis vestrum non laudat leges ab imperatoribus datas contra sacrificia paganorum? Et certe longe ibi pœna severior constituta est: illius quippe impietatis capitale supplicium est." It is interesting to note that Augustine modified his opinion in regard to the employment of coercion (compare *Ep. ad Vincentium* 93, already quoted, and *Ep. ad Bonifacium* 185). The reasons in favour of coercion which he was led to advocate are (1) that the coercion of the Donatist heretics had proved effective, (2) that coercion could be justified by precedents and texts in the Old and New Testaments, and (3) that, as it is lawful to prevent a madman from injuring himself, so it was right to save men from eternal punishment even against their will. St. Augustine's advocacy of coercion went far towards determining the missionary policy of the representatives of the Church in the succeeding centuries. Lecky speaks of him as "the framer and representative of the system of intolerance" (*Rationalism*, ii. 22).

the conversion of men by persuasion, speech and gentleness." [1]

St. Gregory, who sent Augustine to England, approved the corporal punishment of the Barbaricans in Sardinia, the imposition of higher taxes upon pagans and the lowering of rents in the case of Jews who accepted baptism.[2] He wrote: "If they are not sincerely converted themselves, their children at least will be baptized with better will." On the other hand protests against the use of force were from time to time uttered. Thus Hilary of Poitiers writes: "If such violence was employed to sustain the true faith, the wisdom of the bishops should oppose it; they should say, 'God will not have a forced homage.'" [3] Again he writes, "Woe to the times when the divine faith stands in need of earthly power." [4] Martin of Tours strongly opposed the condemnation to death of the Priscillianists in Spain on account of their alleged heresy.[5] It is not surprising that those whose fathers or forefathers had been converted to Christianity by the sword should have regarded it as a duty to employ the same means for the conversion of the Saracens, and that few were found to protest against the policy of the Crusaders. One of those who protested was Raymond Lull, the famous missionary to Moslems in North Africa (d. 1315), who wrote: "They think they can conquer by force of arms: it seems to me that the victory can be won in no other way than as Thou, O Lord Christ, didst seek to win it, by love and prayer and self-sacrifice."

Gregory.

Protests by Hilary,

Martin of Tours,

Raymond Lull,

[1] *De S. Babyla*, 3.

[2] ii. 138, etc.

[3] "Non requirit coactam confessionem." *Ep. ad Constantium*, lib. i. c. 6. See Harnack, ii. p. 459.

[4] *Contra Auxentium*, ii. 4.

[5] Harnack, ii. 457.

Las Casas.

Later on, in the 16th century the Spanish missionary Las Casas, who earned the title of the "Apostle of Mexico," urged, in contravention to the methods adopted by his fellow-countrymen, that men ought to be converted only by persuasion, and that it was not lawful for Christians to carry on war against infidels merely on the ground that they were infidels.

Use of force by Theodosius, 391.

Theodosius who succeeded to the throne in 379 was the first to initiate the forcible extermination of paganism and the conversion of the Empire to nominal Christianity. In 391 he issued an edict prohibiting anyone from offering a sacrifice or even from entering a pagan temple and in the following year sacrifices were prohibited under pain of death and all other acts of idolatry under pain of forfeiture of the house or land in which the idolatrous act might have been committed.[1]

The questions raised by the employment of force as a missionary agency will confront us again and again, as we pass from land to land. In estimating the degree of moral responsibility that attaches to those by whom such force was employed we shall be reminded of Cicero's saying that the blame for wrongdoing must often be attributed not so much to the individual as to the age in which the individual lives.[2]

Growth of a spirit of intolerance.

It must also be borne in mind that the spirit of intolerance, which so often characterized the dealings of Christians with non-Christians during the early Middle Ages, was a natural consequence of the bitter persecutions to which the Christians had themselves

[1] *Codex Theodosii*, xvi. 10. 7, 11, 12.

[2] "Non vitia hominis, sed vitia sæculi."

been subjected at a still earlier period.[1] Thus Dr. Hodgkin writes: "The persecutions came and went, and they changed, though they should not have changed, the temper of the Christian champions. So was rendered possible that utterance of Tertullian (destined to an evil immortality) in which he consoled his brethren for their conscientious abstinence from the pleasures of the Hippodrome by promising them far greater spectacular pleasures in the life to come, when from the safe security of heaven they should behold so many proud prefects, so many jeering philosophers, writhing in agony under the tortures of the never-dying fires of hell. . . . It was not in human nature (though it should have been in the divine that intermingled with it) to see parents, brothers, sisters, dragged off to an insulting and cruel death for refusing to sacrifice to the genius of the Emperor, without some scowl of hatred becoming fixed above the eyes which witnessed these things. . . . And so persecution did not, as was once alleged, always and entirely fail of its end. 'The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church;' but it was a Church of different habit of growth, and producing more acrid fruit than that which it replaced."[2]

Deterioration of Christian society after 312.

The conditions under which missionary work was carried on after the accession of Constantine differed largely from those which had previously prevailed. If the conversion of Constantine marks an epoch in the consolidation of the Church's authority and organization, it marks no corresponding epoch in the expansion

[1] The views of Tertullian and other early Christians in regard to the future punishment of their enemies may have been in part inspired by a study of Jewish apocalyptic literature.

[2] *Italy and her Invaders*, ii. 549.

of Christian Missions, nor is the cause far to seek. The deterioration of Christian society subsequent to 312 must indeed have gone far towards checking missionary enterprise and towards rendering any corporate action well-nigh impossible. Salvian of Marseilles, who wrote about 440, bewails the change which had come over the Christians. "How different," he says, "is the Christian people now from itself, that is from what it once was . . . What is almost any gathering of Christians but a foul collection of vices?"[1]

Compromises with paganism.

In tracing the introduction and development of Christianity and the Christian Church in different lands we shall frequently have occasion to allude to the compromises which were made by Christian missionaries in order to break down the opposition of the heathen to the acceptance of Christian teaching. The compromises that were effected with this object in view were seldom productive of satisfactory results, and in some cases the disastrous effects to which they gave rise continued for many generations.

The Roman Catholic missionaries who preached in Western India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were content to make a compromise with Hinduism and to adopt a large number of idolatrous customs and usages, with the result that in some districts there is little to choose to-day between the moral characters

[1] "Quam dissimilis est nunc a se ipso populus Christianus, id est, ab eo quod fuit quondam! . . . Quid est aliud pæne omnis cœtus Christianorum quam sentina vitiorum"? *De gubernatione Dei*, vi. Montalembert writes, "If there is nothing more abject in the annals of cruelty and corruption than the Roman empire from Augustus to Diocletian, there is something more surprising and sadder still, the Roman empire after it became Christian!"—*Monks of the West*, i. 252.

of their Christian descendants and those of the Hindus in the same districts. In acting thus they were imitating the practices of many earlier missionaries who laboured amongst the heathen in Europe. Thus in 742 the Council of Ratisbon, over which Boniface presided, found it necessary to protest against the practices "which foolish men in the churches perform according to pagan rites in the name of saints, martyrs or confessors." [1]

Their influence on the Christian Church.

The conversion of large numbers of people who had received comparatively little instruction in their new faith and who retained the beliefs that they had inherited from their ancestors tended to exert an influence upon the whole Christian Church. Thus Professor Lecky writes: "Vast tribes of savages who had always been idolaters, who were perfectly incapable from their low state of civilisation of forming any but anthropomorphic conceptions of the Deity . . . and who for the most part were converted, not by individual persuasion, but by the commands of their chiefs, embraced Christianity in such multitudes that their habits of mind soon became the dominating habits of the Church." [2]

The tendency of the Christian Church to provide

[1] See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 385. The wording of the Canon (V) suggests that the combination of Christian and pagan practices which existed in North Germany closely resembled what is to be seen to in Western India to-day. The canon reads "Decrevimus quoque ut . . . unusquisque episcopus . . . gerat . . . ut populus Dei paganias non faciat, sed omnes spurcitias gentilitatis abjiciat et respuat, sive profana sacrificia mortuorum, sive sortilegos, vel divinos . . . sive hostias, immolatitias, quas stulti homines juxta ecclesias ritu pagano faciunt, sub nomine sanctorum martyrum vel confessorum . . . sive omnes quæcunque sunt paganorum observationes diligenter prohibeant."

[2] *Rationalism*, vol. i. 238 f.

Elaboration of Christian ceremonial.

a more and more elaborate ceremonial rendered it easy for those accustomed to the ceremonial connected with pagan temples and festivals to enrol themselves as Christians. Gibbon has remarked that whilst the devotion of a philosopher can be sustained by prayer, study and meditation, the religious sentiments of the people can only be maintained by public worship.[1]

Attitude of missionaries towards heathen superstitions.

In one important respect the method adopted by the early missionaries differed from that adopted by those in more recent days. The supernatural powers claimed by the priests or other representatives of paganism were as a rule accepted as genuine by the early missionaries who ascribed them to the help and inspiration of demons. They did not deny or attempt to explain them away as the missionary imbued with modern scientific knowledge would do to-day. The remarks of Bishop Dowden with reference to the life and times of Columba apply to many other early missionaries. "There is no escaping the conclusion," he writes, "that the Celtic missionaries and the Fathers of the Celtic Church were themselves unhesitating believers in what would in our time be regarded as puerile superstitions. But we may well believe that in the providence of God such a nearness of intellectual level between teacher and taught materially assisted their evangelistic labours. And we are instructed in the lesson which we shall again and again have to bear in mind, that a great body of baseless superstitions may be held compatibly with large measures of divine truth, with the most sincere piety, and with high intellectual ability and acumen." [2]

[1] *D. and F. of the R. E.* chap. 28. [2] *The Celtic Church in Scotland*, p. 101.

The attitude of the missionaries towards heathen religious and social customs varied in different lands. Gregory's letter to Mellitus and the code drawn up by Olaf and Bishop Grimkell in Norway afford instances of the liberal tendency to continue, in the hope of transforming, heathen observances. The action of Bishop Otto in Pomerania, who urged that the thorns and thistles must be eradicated before the Christian grain could be sown, affords an illustration of a different attitude.

Two missionary religions.

In order to understand the rival influences that existed at the time when Christian missionary work was first carried on we must make a brief reference to the two other religions which possessed a missionary character during the earliest centuries of the Christian Era, viz. the worship of Isis and the worship of Mithra.

The worship of Isis.

The worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis who mourned over the death of her husband Osiris whom his brother Typhon had murdered, had become known in every part of the Empire by the end of the second century.[1] "Like wildfire," says Dr. Bigg, "far more rapidly than Christianity, this ambiguous cult overran the world. . . . Isis-worship was a sort of savage counterpart of Christianity, deeply tainted, alas, by magic, better able to arouse the feelings than to chasten them, yet, in its wild Egyptian way, a gospel of suffering, a shadow of better things to come."[2] For the better educated among its adherents its polytheistic and

[1] A temple of Isis and Serapis was founded in the Campus Martius at Rome in 42 B.C. (Dion Cassius, xlvii. 15). Several traces of Isis-worship have been found in Britain. A ring bearing the figure of her companion the dog-headed Anubis has been found in a grave in the Isle of Man.

[2] *The Church's task under the Roman Empire*, 1905, pp. 40, 45.

immoral teaching was refined into pantheism and mystery. Thus the inscription round the statue of Isis at Sais read, "I am all that is, or has been, or shall be, and no mortal hath ever lifted my veil." [1]

Osiris.

Osiris, who was originally worshipped as the god of the setting sun, was regarded as the god of the underworld into which all men must pass, and in virtue of the fact that he had suffered a cruel death and yet remained spiritually alive he was looked upon as one who could sympathize with and help men in the hour of death.

Mithraism.

The second religion with which the early Christian missionaries were brought into frequent contact was the Mithraic sun-worship which was introduced into Europe from Persia and which began to spread throughout the West a little later than did the worship of Isis.[2] By the middle of the third century it had made such progress that it seemed possible that it might displace Christianity and become the religion of the whole Roman Empire. Dr. Bigg has described the religion of Mithra as "the purest and most elevated of all non-Biblical religions." [3] It seems probable that we have borrowed from Mithraism the words used to designate the days of our week [4] and the date of our Christmas festival. In regard to the latter M. Cumont thinks that when the Christians in the fourth century

The date of Christmas borrowed from Mithraism.

[1] Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride*, 9.

[2] The worship of Mithra was first introduced into Rome by Pompey in 70 B.C. (Plut. *Pomp.* c. 24). The chief modern authority for all available information in regard to the worship of Mithra is *Textes et monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, par M. Cumont, Bruxelles, 1896.

[3] *Neoplatonism*, p. 56. It ought, however, to be added that the more spiritual side of Mithra worship was not developed till after it had come into contact with Christianity.

[4] Cumont, i. 299.

instituted the observance of Christmas they selected December 25, the Mithraic "natalis invicti," in order to displace the worship of Mithra on this day.[1] The missionaries by whom the worship of Mithra was chiefly spread were the soldiers in the Roman army. In some instances legions which had been quartered in the East on being moved to some of the western provinces carried with them the worship which they had adopted.[2] It was also spread by traders and by the many slaves who were captured in the East and sold in the West.

Mithra a Persian deity.

Mithra was a Persian deity and is usually portrayed as a young man representing Victory and engaged in slaying a bull, the slaying of the bull being emblematic of life secured through death. On either side of him stand his attendants Cautes and Cautopates, the one holding a torch erect, the symbol of life, and the other holding a torch reversed, the symbol of death. As a god he was regarded as the giver of light and man's strong helper against Ahriman, the spirit of evil. When we consider how widespread was his worship it is surprising how little we know concerning the religious teaching connected with this cult. Like the Isis-worship, it was largely tinged with pantheism. "We read of seven grades of initiation, the three lowest did not admit to the mysteries, and correspond roughly

Mithraic teaching and ritual.

[1] Cumont, i. 342. See also *Christian Worship, its Origin and Evolution*, by Duchesne. Eng. ed. p. 261.

[2] A grotto containing six altars connected with the worship of Mithra has been found at Housesteads (Borcovicus) on the wall of Hadrian. This was apparently used by soldiers in 252; see *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, ed. by Hübner, vii. 646. An altar preserved at Caerleon in Wales and dedicated to Mithra was probably erected about 200. Id. p. 1039.

to the catechumenate; . . . the highest class of all was that of the Fathers. . . . There was a body of priests headed by a chief priest, and there were companies of ascetics and of virgins. There was an authoritative moral teaching which is spoken of as 'the commandments.'[1] Among the rites of initiation was a baptism in water,[2] a brand, the use of honey and anointing, and there was a sort of Agapé in commemoration of the banquet of Mithra and the Sun, in which the worshippers partook of bread, water and wine. The resurrection of the body was taught and the faithful were not cremated but interred."[3] St. Augustine and some others amongst the early Christian teachers regarded the resemblance of the rites and teaching of Mithraism and of other religions to those of Christianity as a proof that the former were invented by the devil for the purpose of deceiving the unwary.[4]

Religious quarrels of the Christians.

Although the power to redeem the world remained a possession of the Christian Church, popular Christianity in the middle of the fourth century was ill-fitted to act as a missionary agency. Thus Milman, referring to the time of the accession of Julian (361), writes, "Christianity at no period could appear in a less amiable and attractive light to a mind preindisposed to its reception. It was in a state of universal, fierce and implacable discord: the chief cities of the Empire had run with bloodshed in religious quarrels. The

[1] *The Church's Task under the R. Empire*, Bigg, p. 54.

[2] See Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, c. 5, "et sacris quibusdam per lavacrum initiantur, Isidis alicujus et Mithræ." Again he writes, "Mithra signat illic in frontibus milites suos, celebrat et panis oblationem, et imaginem resurrectionis inducit." *De Præscrip. Hæret.* 40.

[3] *The Church's Task under the R. Empire*, Bigg, p. 54.

[4] In *Joh. Evang. tractatus*, cap. 6. Migne, *P. L.* xxxv. col. 1440.

sole object of the conflicting parties seemed to be to confine to themselves the temporal and spiritual blessings of the faith; to exclude as many as they might from that eternal life, and to anathematize to that eternal death, which were revealed by the gospel, and placed, according to the general belief, under the special authority of the clergy."[1] The heathen historian Ammianus Marcellinus, writing about 380, declared that he had never known savage beasts that were as fierce as were the majority of Christians to each other.[2]

Obstacles to the spread of Christianity in the 4th century.

The social difficulties with which the early missionaries in Europe were confronted resembled those which missionaries in the Far East have to meet to-day, inasmuch as the old heathen cults, like the religions of the Far East to-day, represented powerful social forces. Although the obstacle to the spread of Christianity presented by the Indian caste-system is greater than any which ever existed in Europe, nevertheless before, and in some districts after, the time of Constantine to abandon the ancestral customs of showing honour to the gods was to become an outcaste from society. Again, the aid of philosophy was invoked then, as it is now, in order to justify the continuance of formal acts of religious worship in which the worshipper had long ceased to have a genuine belief. The arguments by which the Hindu who has taken his degree at Oxford or Cambridge satisfies himself that it is his duty to take part, and to encourage others to take part, in the worship of India's ancient gods are identical with those which Plutarch and his contemporaries used

Their counterparts in modern India.

[1] Milman, *History of Christianity*, iii. 54 f.

[2] xxii. 5, "nullas infestas hominibus bestias ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum expertus."

in the third or fourth centuries. Then, as now, an allegorical interpretation of gross practices and degrading legends was evolved which to the initiated transformed their whole character and meaning.

Conversion of rulers preceded that of their subjects.

With very few exceptions the conversion of Europe was brought about by missionary influences that spread from the upper and better educated to the lower and less educated classes. The principle enunciated by one of the Pomeranian Dukes during a missionary tour made by Bishop Otto in his country was generally recognized and acted upon. The Duke said: "It is for us who are the chiefs and men of importance to have regard to our dignity and to agree together in regard to this most deserving matter, so that the people who are subject to us may be instructed by our example. For whatever religion or virtue is to be attempted I say that it is more correct that it should pass from the head to the members than from the members to the head. In the primitive Church indeed, as we have heard, the Christian faith began with the common people and with individuals belonging to the common people, and spread to the middle classes, and then affected the chiefs of the world. Let us reverse the custom of the primitive Church so that the holiness of the divine religion, beginning with us who are chiefs and passing on to the middle classes by an easy progress, may enlighten the whole people and race." [1]

Its resultant superficiality.

The principle enunciated by the Pomeranian Duke was a plausible one, but the history of Missions in Europe and of more recent Missions to the non-Christian races in other continents, tends to show that a religion which

[1] *Vita Ottonis*, by Herbordus, iii. 3.

is recommended to a people by those who are possessed of political authority is most likely to become superficial and to fail to secure their convinced assent. To adopt the Duke's illustration drawn from the relation of the head and limbs of a body, modern science has shown that the blood which is the carrier of the vital energy in the human body passes first from the body to the head and not from the head to the body. There is reason to believe that if the missionaries in the various European countries had been able to adopt the methods that were adopted by their earliest predecessors and which are followed by missionaries to-day, and had been able to make their appeal, in the first instance, to the common people and to build up a Christian Church without any adventitious help supplied by social or political influence, the conversion of Europe would have been less superficial than was actually the case.

The earliest Christian converts.

Although as a general rule in the earliest centuries of the Christian era Christianity began by appealing to the poorer and less educated classes there was never a time or a country in which there were not also converts from the higher and better-educated classes. In confirmation of this assertion we may refer to Pliny's statement to Trajan (98-117), that those accused of being Christians included "many of every rank."[1] Further statements to the same effect might be adduced from almost every country in which a Christian community came into existence in the early centuries.

In reading the biographies of the more remarkable missionaries we are struck by the fact that even when these biographies were written by contemporaries, or

[1] "Multi omnis ordinis."

Miracles attributed to missionaries.

by men who lived only a generation after the missionaries whose lives they record, they are for the most part filled with stories of miracles. Few who believe that these missionaries were inspired by God to do the work which they accomplished will be prepared to say that the miraculous occurrences which accompanied the delivery of their message are without exception inconceivable and impossible. Nevertheless, when we consider the unscientific character of the age in which these miracles were recorded and the impossibility of obtaining evidence that can satisfy the critical historian, we cannot assume the occurrence of a miracle in any single case.[1] In many cases it is probable that a metaphorical expression used by a missionary in the first report of his experiences was, quite honestly, interpreted by a later biographer as implying the occurrence of a physical miracle. We might point by way of illustration to the miracle which Adamnan the biographer of Columba (who was born hardly more than a generation after his death) records as having taken place when Columba left Iona to pay a visit to the Pictish king Brude. After stating that the king "elated by pride did not open the gates at the blessed man's arrival," he goes on to say, "when the man of God

A miracle attributed to Columba.

[1] Bp. Gore writes, "There are . . . ages when belief is so utterly uncritical that it does seem as if they could not under any circumstances afford us satisfactory evidence of miraculous occurrences." *Bampton Lectures*, p. 74. In trying to estimate the value of evidence available for the miracles of healing said to have been wrought by the early pioneer missionaries we do well to note the large amount of contemporary evidence which is available in support of similar miracles said to have been wrought by heathen gods. For a list of such see *Incubation or the Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches*, by M. Hamilton, London, 1906, also *Antike Wundergeschichten*, by P. Fiebig, 1909. In the latter the original accounts are in many cases quoted.

knew this, he came with his companions to the wickets of the portals and first traced on them the sign of the Lord's Cross and then knocking, he lays his hand against the doors, and immediately the bolts are violently shot back, the doors open in all haste of their own accord, and being thus opened the saint thereupon enters with his companions . . . and from that day forth this ruler honoured the holy and venerable man with very great honour all the remaining days of his life."[1] It is not difficult to imagine that Columba, or one of his companions, in sending an account to their friends at Iona of their first missionary journey on the mainland, stated in the words of St. Paul[2] that whereas at first the way seemed closed against them God had marvellously opened a door of opportunity which no man would be able to close. A later writer on reading or hearing this report might, in all good faith, imagine that what actually occurred was what Adamnan has described.

Its suggested explanation.

However little faith we may find it possible to repose in the miraculous occurrences with which the lives of many of the early missionaries abound, we cannot afford to neglect these stories altogether. Bishop Dowden, referring to the miracles recounted by the biographer of Adamnan, writes: "As illustrating the popular beliefs of his time, the stories related by Adamnan, however incredible, are full of interest, and much more is to be learned from them than many modern writers, in their contemptuous impatience, have been ready to acknowledge. The stories reflect the re-

Lessons to be learned from the reported miracles.

[1] ii. cap. xxxv.

[2] *Cf.* "a great door and effectual is opened unto me," 1 Cor. xvi. 9: "a door was opened unto me in the Lord," 2 Cor. ii. 12.

ligious notions current in the writer's day, and so supply us with a most precious source of information as to a period of the history of religious thought in this country otherwise singularly obscure. . . . It is not, I think, less interesting to know what men believed and what they thought, than what kind of dress they wore, what kind of houses they lived in, what weapons they carried, and what food they ate." [1]

Christian Apologies.

There is no evidence to show that the Christian Apologies that were written before the time of Constantine were productive of any visible results from a missionary standpoint, or that pagans were converted by them. Tertullian lamented that no pagan would read any Christian writing.[2] The missionary agency by which the Christian faith was spread during the early centuries was the lives and deaths of the Christians.

The blood of Christians is seed.

The truth of Tertullian's oft-quoted statement [3] that the blood of Christians is seed, was again and again exemplified, and the more cruelly any given Church was persecuted the greater became its efficiency from a missionary standpoint. But if the martyrdoms of Christians provided occasional impulses towards the expansion of the Christian Church, their lives exerted a greater and more continuous influence. It was as a result of witnessing the moral lives and the fearless deaths of the Christians that Justin Martyr [4] became a Christian, and no effective missionary work has ever been accomplished which has not been supported by this argument.

Influence exerted by lives of Christians,

During the first three or four centuries after the

[1] *The Celtic Church in Scotland*, p. 141 f.

[2] "ad nostras litteras nemo venit nisi jam Christianus," *de Testim.* i.

[3] "semen est sanguis Christianorum," *Apol.* 50.

[4] *Apol.* ii. 12.

Christian era the Church's missionary task was accomplished not so much by the action of individuals or pioneer missionaries as by the steady attraction exercised by Christian communities. There are districts in India and in South Africa to-day where large numbers of persons have asked to be prepared for Christian baptism, having been moved to make their request by the knowledge and sight of the spiritual and material benefits that the new religion has brought to their fellow-countrymen. What is happening to-day in non-Christian lands happened on a large scale in the early centuries. Up to the time of Constantine there were few material benefits to be anticipated by those who desired to become members of a Christian community, but it was the loving sympathy displayed by the Christians towards each other and the high moral standard of their life that helped to commend their faith to others.

and by Christian communities.

The scene of Raymond Lull's missionary labours lay outside Europe and his work does not therefore come within the scope of our present enquiry,[1] but something must be said in regard to the missionary methods the adoption of which by the Christian Church throughout Europe he sought to secure. He anticipated the teachings and methods of modern missionaries by his insistence that efforts for the evangelization of the world must be based upon a careful study and knowledge of the languages and literature of the peoples whom it was sought to evangelize. In 1276 he founded at Miramar in Majorca a school for the teaching of Arabic

Methods of Raymond Lull.

[1] For a brief account of his work in North Africa see *History of Christian Missions*, by the Author, pp. 285 f., 466 f.

and geography. He further urged the University of Paris to endow chairs of Greek, Arabic and Tartar. He visited Rome three times, and Avignon once, in order to press upon the Pope the need of systematic Missions to Moslems, and he advocated the founding of monasteries the special purpose of which should be to promote the study of languages with a missionary intent.

His efforts to effect conversions by argument.

If, however, he agreed with the modern missionaries in emphasizing the supreme importance of securing a sympathetic understanding of the life and thought of those whom he desired to convert, he differed, alike from them and from his contemporaries, in believing that their conversion could and would be effected by the employment of philosophical disputation. He himself wrote over two hundred massive Latin folios on philosophy and theology, believing that their study would help to convert the Saracens. The history of Christian Missions in early mediæval and modern times affords no support for Lull's contention that "complacuit Deo in dialectica salvare hominem." At the same time we cannot but remember with gratitude and admiration the efforts which Lull made to put a stop to forcible conversions and to base the appeal to non-Christian races upon a sympathetic study of their own teachings, sealed as they were by his heroic life and death. In 1311 four years before his own death the Council of Vienne, moved apparently by Lull's appeal, decreed the establishment of professorships of oriental languages in various places of learning.

Women converts in the early Church.

It is interesting to note the appeal which Christian Missions made to women and the influence exerted by women converts in the early Church.

It would appear to be the case that in all countries in which the status of women has been a high one, the number of women converts and the influence which these converts have exerted have been great.

In India and in other less civilized countries where the position of women is or has been relatively low the proportion of men converts has been large. During the early centuries of the Christian Era women converts attained considerable prominence. This was specially the case in the more civilized parts of the Roman Empire. In the Gospels we read of the ministering women who accompanied our Lord from place to place. According to a very early gloss which appears in Marcion's text and two Latin MSS. our Lord was charged by the Jews before Pilate with misleading women.[1] St. Paul's directions to the Corinthian Christians in regard to the conduct and dress of women in church suggest that they formed an important part of the Christian community. In the last chapter of the Epistle to the Romans St. Paul sends greetings to fifteen women who were apparently of some standing in the Church.[2]

The second Epistle of St. John was addressed to a woman. Irenæus also states that Marcus the pupil of Valentinus consecrated women as prophetesses and thereby led many astray in Gaul and that his followers deluded many women in the Rhone districts.[3] The increasing restrictions which the Church placed upon the freedom of women to act as Christian teachers was in part due to its anxiety to oppose the spread of

[1] The gloss occurs in the text of St. Luke xxii. 2, *ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα.*

[2] For a discussion of the position occupied by Christian women in New Testament times see Harnack, *Exp. of C.* ii. 65-69.

[3] i. 13-17.

Gnosticism and Montanism, the followers of which assigned a prominent position to women. The many women who suffered as martyrs during the various persecutions did much to raise the ideals of Christian womanhood at the same time that they helped to commend the Christian faith to an ever-widening circle of the heathen. In Pliny's letter to Trajan (*circ.* 103) mention is made of women who were called by their fellow-Christians *ministræ* (deaconesses).

Until the rise of monasticism the influence exerted by women in the service of the Church tended steadily to increase and mention is made of prominent Christian women in nearly all the writings dating from the second century. In the majority of cases the women referred to were resident in Asia or Africa. In Greece and Italy the proportion of influential women converts would appear to have been smaller. Marcellina the Carpocratian is said by Irenæus[1] to have taught and to have led many astray in Rome.

The spread of Christianity prior to 325.

Before proceeding to discuss the beginning of missionary work in the several countries of Europe, it may be well to refer to the four categories in which Harnack has suggested that the countries within or adjacent to the Roman Empire might be placed in the third decade of the fourth century. At the time to which these categories refer, the total Christian population of the world was about 4,000,000 of whom less than half would have been resident in Europe. Harnack reckons that about the year 312 there were from 800 to 900 bishoprics in the Eastern portion of the Roman Empire and from 600 to 700 in the western portion.

Harnack's four categories.

[1] Iren. i. 25, "multos exterminavit."

"1. Those in which Christianity numbered nearly one-half of the population and represented the most widely spread, or even the standard, religion.

"2. Those in which Christianity formed a very important section of the population, influencing the leading classes and the general civilization of the people, and being capable of holding its own with other religions.

"3. Those in which Christianity was thinly scattered.

"4. Those in which the spread of Christianity was extremely slender, or where it was hardly to be found at all." [1]

Under 1. he places "the region of Thrace opposite Bithynia" and the island of Cyprus. Under 2. are placed Rome, Lower Italy and the coastal districts of Middle Italy. The Christian population, he writes, "would be denser wherever Greeks formed an appreciable percentage of the inhabitants, *i.e.* in the maritime towns of Lower Italy and Sicily, although the Latin-speaking population would still remain for the most part pagan." Under the same category are placed Spain, the maritime parts of Achaia, Thessaly, Macedonia, the Mediterranean islands and the southern coast of Gaul. Under 3. come the interior of Achaia, Macedonia and Thessaly, together with Epirus, Dardania, Dalmatia, Mœsia and Pannonia, the northern districts of Middle Italy and the eastern region of Upper Italy. Under 4. come Western Upper Italy, Middle and Upper Gaul, Belgica, Germany, Rhætia and the north and north-west coasts of the Black Sea.[2]

[1] *Exp. of C.* ii. 327.

[2] Harnack writes, "I do not venture to pronounce any opinion at all on Britain and Noricum."

CHAPTER II

IRELAND

In a volume that deals with the work of Christian missionaries in the various countries of Europe Ireland may claim to engage the early attention of the reader, and this for two reasons. A first ground of claim is furnished by the missionary activities of its own sons. There is no country which in proportion to the extent of its population sent out so many of its sons to serve as missionaries in other European countries. We shall have occasion to note later on that there is hardly any large district in northern or central Europe which did not share in the spiritual benefits that missionaries from Ireland poured forth with a lavish hand and during a long series of years. In the second place, Ireland has a unique interest from a missionary standpoint because it is the only country in Europe that can claim no Christian martyrs. The Christian faith, by whomsoever introduced, was gradually accepted without any outbreak of intolerance leading to the death of a missionary or of other Christians. What little we know of the development of Christianity in Ireland affords a pleasing contrast to the story of the violent and forcible conversions which took place in other lands.

Ireland as a training-ground for missionaries.

No Christian martyrs in Ireland.

Yet another reason for assigning an early and important place to the evangelization of Ireland is afforded

by the character of the missionary to whom its conversion was chiefly due.

The work accomplished by St. Patrick is wrapt in an obscurity that we can never hope to remove, but what we know of him and his work compels us to assign him a place second to none in the long roll of missionaries to whom, after the time of St. Paul, the conversion of Europe was due. We fortunately possess at least two writings which can with reasonable certainty be ascribed to him and which, whilst they throw little light upon his missionary labours, nevertheless help us to understand and appreciate the personal character of Ireland's missionary saint.

Introduction of Christianity.

Of the actual beginnings of Christianity in Ireland we know nothing. We know that at some period prior to 431 A.D. the Christian faith was preached and that a certain number of converts were obtained, but when and where and by what agency Christianity was first introduced we shall probably never know.

Roman coins in Ireland.

The large number of Roman coins, dating back to the first century of the Christian era, that have been found in Ireland tends to show that even in the first century of our era it was not entirely isolated from the continent of Europe, and suggests the possibility that a knowledge of Christianity was introduced by visitors or traders from Italy.[1] References occur to a certain number of Irish bishops, or saints, on the continent, who lived before the time of St. Patrick, but it is probable that these were converted to the Christian faith after leaving Ireland. Thus St. Mansuetus

Irish bishops on the continent.

[1] In 1831 200 Roman coins were found at the Giant's Causeway dating from 70 A.D. to 160 A.D. A number of bodies have been found near Bray Head each with a copper coin of Trajan or Hadrian laid on his breast.

the first bishop of Toul[1] and St. Beatus the first bishop of Lausanne, both of whom lived in the fourth century, were probably Irish. The poet Sedulius who flourished in Italy in the fifth century was perhaps an Irishman.

Visit of Palladius.

The first historical statement with reference to Christian Missions in Ireland that has survived is that made by Prosper of Aquitaine in 431 A.D. He states that Palladius, having been ordained as the first Bishop, was sent by Pope Celestine to the Scots (*i.e.* Irish) who believed in Christ.[2] According to a tradition which was not, however, embodied in writing till several centuries later, Palladius founded three churches, and having crossed to Scotland during the year following his arrival in Ireland died shortly afterwards.[3] This statement of Prosper makes it clear that Celestine was moved to send Palladius to Ireland by the knowledge that there were Christians there who needed a bishop to minister to them, but of the extent or previous history of this Christian community we know nothing. Nor can we even claim to emerge into daylight when we pass on to the story of Ireland's patron saint. His very existence has indeed been a matter of dispute.[4]

Ireland's patron saint.

[1] See below, p. 175.

[2] Prosper *Chronicon.* s.a. 431 "ad Scottos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papâ Celestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur." See Migne *P.L.* LI.

[3] Prof. Bury writes with regard to the visit of Palladius to Scotland, "We may be tempted to suspect that the expedition of Palladius to the country of the Picts was not an abandonment of Ireland and that it was not the Picts of North Britain, but some Christian communities existing among the Picts of Dalaradia in North Ireland who were the objects of his concern." *Life of St. Patrick,* pp. 54 f. See below, p. 70 f.

[4] Amongst those who have denied or seriously doubted his existence are Plummer, the Editor of Bede's works (*cf.* vol. ii. p. 25), and Prof. Zimmer in Germany. The latter identified him with Palladius. See *Liber Armachanus,* ed. by Gwynn, p. xcvii. No reference to Patrick occurs in Bede's *History* though a reference is made to him in Bede's *Martyrology* at March 17. This martyrology has, however, been interpolated by later writers.

But though on this point there can be no reasonable doubt, we are left in complete uncertainty concerning the length of time which he spent and the extent of his missionary labours in Ireland. We are fortunate to possess two works written by Patrick himself from which we can learn a little in regard to his history and still more in regard to his personal character and the motives by which his missionary labours were inspired. These writings are his *Confession* and a letter, of some length, addressed by him to the subjects of a king named Coroticus. He was apparently the ruler of Strathclyde in North Britain, and having made a raid upon the coast of Ireland, had carried away as captives some Christians who had recently been baptized. To these authentic writings, which are written in Latin, may perhaps be added the Lorica, a hymn written in Irish by Patrick, and a hymn written in Latin by Sechnall (Secundinus) a coadjutor of Patrick. The earliest extant lives of Patrick, which were written by Muirchu and Tirechan,[1] were composed in the latter half of the seventh century, whilst the longer and more complete record known as the Tripartite life[2] was probably composed in the eleventh century.

St. Patrick's own writings.

Lives of St. Patrick.

The biographical details which we can obtain from his own writings and on which alone we can rely with any confidence are as follows :—His father Calpornius, who was a Roman decurio, was in deacon's orders and his grandfather Potitus was a priest. His father owned

Biographical details.

[1] According to Zimmer the collections of Tirechan and Muirchu ought not to be dated earlier than the first half of the ninth century.

[2] Edited with notes and critical apparatus by Dr. Whitley Stokes and published in 2 vols. in the Rolls series, 1887. The *Vita Tripartita* is written in Irish but is largely interspersed with Latin.

a small farm near a village called Bannaven Taberniæ.[1] In his sixteenth year [2] he was carried captive with several others to Ireland and for six years was employed by his master in herding swine.[3] Before he was carried captive he had thought little about religion, but in his trouble he learned to pray. Thus he writes: "After I had come to Ireland I daily used to feed swine and I prayed frequently during the day; the love of God and the fear of Him increased more and more, and faith became stronger, and the spirit was stirred, so that in one day I said about a hundred prayers and in the night nearly the same, so that I used even to remain in the woods and in the mountain, before daylight I used to rise to prayer, through snow, through frost, through rain, and felt no harm."

The habit and power of prayer which he thus acquired when hardly more than a boy go far towards explaining the marvellous spiritual influence which he exerted in later life. In his *Confession* he refers to an offence that he had committed when he was fifteen years old which was brought up against him in later life. He writes: "I did not believe in the one God from my infancy but I remained in death and unbelief until I was severely chastised. . . . Before I was humbled I was like a stone lying in deep mud." It is hardly necessary to point out that these statements conflict with the later traditions which tell of the exceptional

[1] The locality of this village is uncertain. According to most critics it was near Dumbarton in Scotland. Prof. Bury however maintains that it was on the Bristol Channel. One of the few things certain in regard to Patrick is that he was not an Irishman. See his references to the Irish as 'barbarians.' *Ep. to Coroticus* c. 1.

[2] The date of his birth according to Prof. Bury was 389 A.D.

[3] The *Confession* says *pecora* (cattle), but all the later authorities read *sues* (swine).

piety of his early days. At the end of six years his longing to return to his native land was enhanced by a vision in which he heard a voice telling him that the ship in which he was to escape was waiting for him. He accordingly left his master and after a walk of about 200 miles reached a port. Part of the cargo of the boat in which he sailed consisted of dogs,[1] and after three days at sea he reached land.[2] On leaving the boat he and his companions, accompanied by their dogs, travelled for twenty-eight days through a desert, or a deserted country,[3] where they suffered greatly from hunger. When food failed the leader of the party, a heathen, appealed to Patrick for help and said to him, "What is it, O Christian? Thou sayest that thy God is great and almighty; why therefore canst not thou pray for us, for we are perishing with hunger." "I said to them plainly," writes Patrick, "Turn with faith to the Lord my God, to whom nothing is impossible, that He may send food this day for us in your path, even till you are satisfied, for it abounds everywhere with Him." The appearance of a herd of swine, which immediately followed, was regarded by Patrick and his companions as an answer to his prayers. A statement to the effect that after many years he was taken captive once more, which is here abruptly inserted in his *Confession*, is apparently to be interpreted as a reference to the spiritual compulsion which forced him to become a missionary to the land in which he had been a captive in his youth. Again "after a few years" but while still young (puer) he was at his

His sojourn in Gaul.

[1] Probably Irish wolf-hounds.

[2] According to Prof. Bury he landed on the coast of Gaul at Nantes or Bordeaux.

[3] See below, p. 185.

His return to Britain.

home "in the Britains" where his parents[1] begged him to remain. "There," he writes, "I saw in the bosom of the night, a man coming as it were from Ireland, Victoricus by name, with innumerable letters, and he gave one of them to me. And I read the beginning of the letter containing 'The voice of the Irish.' And while I was reading aloud the beginning of the letter, I myself thought indeed in my mind that I heard the voice of those who were near the wood of Foclut, which is close by the Western Sea. And they cried out thus as if with one voice, We entreat thee, holy youth, that thou come and henceforth walk among us.[2] And I was deeply moved in heart and could read no further, and so I awoke." In yet another vision he heard a voice which said, "He who gave His life for thee is He who speaks in thee." Here unfortunately his own record abruptly ends. From the latter part of his *Confession* and his letter to Coroticus we can glean the following additional details.

His work in Ireland.

Before or after this vision he spent some time in Gaul in which country were some whom he had learned to regard as his brethren (fratres). When he was almost worn out[1] he went (or returned) to Ireland as a missionary, where, on twelve separate occasions, his

[1] By 'parentes,' we should probably understand 'kinsfolk.'

[2] Rogamus te, sancte puer, ut venias et *adhuc* ambules inter nos. Prof. Bury argues that the word *adhuc* implies that the neighbourhood of Foclut near the Western Sea had been the scene of Patrick's captivity, and on the strength of this statement he rejects as a later and incorrect tradition the generally accepted belief that he was a slave to Milchu at Mount Miss (Slemesh) in Dalaradia (Ulster). If, however, with Prof. Stokes and Dr. Wright we translate *adhuc* as 'henceforth,' or, with Dr. N. J. D. White, as 'hither,' or, again, with Dr. Gwynn, as 'moreover,' there is nothing to show that the vision summoned Patrick to return to the exact scene of his former captivity.

[3] prope deficiebam.

life was imperilled, and where, he says, it has "come to pass that they who never had any knowledge and until now have only worshipped idols and unclean things, have lately become a people of the Lord and are called the sons of God. Sons of the Scots and daughters of chieftains are seen to be monks and virgins of Christ." Having been consecrated as a bishop (apparently in Gaul) he ordained clergy in many different places and baptized many thousands of men. The clergy whom he ordained included one whom he had taught from his infancy.[1] Having come to Ireland as a missionary he felt "bound by the spirit"[2] not to see again any of his kindred. The success of his labours as a bishop roused the jealousy of some of his seniors, one of whom charged him, after thirty years, with the offence which he had confessed before he was ordained as a deacon and which had been committed when he was about fifteen years of age.

By coming to Ireland he relinquished the advantages conferred on him by his noble birth,[3] and suffered insults and persecutions from unbelievers, even unto chains, and was prepared to lay down his life most willingly on behalf of the name of Christ. On the twelve separate occasions on which his life was imperilled, "the most holy God" delivered him. Those to whom his *Confession*, which was written in his old age,[4] was addressed were "witnesses that the Gospel has been preached everywhere in places where there is no man beyond."

The details given above are practically all that we can obtain from the study of Patrick's own writings.

[1] *Ep. to Coroticus* 2.
[2] id. 5.
[3] ingenuitas.
[4] in senectute meâ.

If, as seems almost certain, the Hymn of Sechnall was written by one who was a contemporary of Patrick, his statement that Christ chose Patrick to be His vicar on earth [1] may be regarded as evidence that Patrick went to Ireland believing himself to have received a direct command from God. There are many questions relating to his life and work to which we should like to have answers, but in those which are supplied by the later biographies it is impossible to feel any confidence. We do not know, for example, whether Patrick laboured in Ireland as a missionary prior to his consecration as a bishop, how many years he spent as a student in Gaulish monasteries, whether he ever visited Rome, or whether he received any communication from the Bishop of Rome.

Doubtful statements by his biographers.

Did Patrick visit Rome?

In the Irish Canons attributed to Patrick, but the date of which Haddan and Stubbs place between 716 and 777, the following reference to the Bishop of Rome occurs :—'If any (difficult) questions arise in this island let them be referred to the apostolic See.' [2] The earliest existing evidence for a visit paid by Patrick to Italy is that contained in the first of the Dicta Patricii included in the Book of Armagh and which is regarded by Prof. Bury as almost certainly genuine. It reads :—"I had the fear of God as my guide in my journey through Gaul and Italy and in the districts that lie on the Tyrrhenian sea." [3]

A strong reason for rejecting the later traditions

[1] Christus illum sibi elegit in terris vicarium, l. 26.

[2] si quæ (difficiles) questiones in hac insula oriantur ad sedem apostolicam referantur. *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, 29, 5 b.

[3] Timorem Dei habui ducem itineris mei per Gallias atque Italiam etiam in insolis quæ sunt in mari Tyrreno.

referring to a visit to Rome is that whereas Patrick's *Confession*, which was written near the end of his life, was written in part to vindicate against his opponents his action in coming to Ireland at all, he never suggests, or hints, that this action had received the approval of the Pope. It is impossible to understand why he failed to adduce this justification, had he been in a position to do so.

Chronology suggested by Dr. Whitley Stokes.

Two very different chronologies of his life have been suggested by Irish scholars. That suggested by Dr. Whitley Stokes, the Editor of the *Tripartite Life of S. Patrick*, is as follows:—"It seems that Patrick returned to Ireland on or soon after his ordination as priest (say in 397 A.D.) and without any commission from Rome: that he laboured for 30 years in converting the pagan Irish, but met with little or no success: that he attributed this failure to the want of episcopal ordination and Roman authority: that in order to have these defects supplied he went back to Gaul (say in 427 A.D.) intending ultimately to proceed to Rome; that he spent some time in study with Germanus of Auxerre; that hearing of the failure and death of Palladius . . . in 431 A.D. he was directed by Germanus to take at once the place of the deceased missionary; that he thereupon relinquished his journey to Rome, received episcopal consecration from a Gaulish bishop . . . and returned a second time to Ireland about the year 432 when he was 60 years old as a missionary from the Gaulish Church and supplied with Gaulish assistants and funds for his mission."[1]

[1] *Tripartite Life of S. Patrick*, vol. i. p. cxli.

Chronology suggested by Prof. Bury.

The chronology suggested by Professor Bury which differs in many important respects from the above, is briefly as follows :—

A.D.	
389.	Birth of Patrick.
411–12.	Escape from his ship-companions.
411–12 to 414–15.	At Lerins.
414–15.	Returns to Britain.
415–16.	Goes to Auxerre.
416–18.	Is ordained by Amator.
418.	Death of Amator who is succeeded by Germanus.
418–32.	Patrick remains at Auxerre as deacon.
429.	Germanus goes to Britain to suppress the Pelagian heresy.
431.	Palladius consecrated bishop for Ireland.
432.	Patrick consecrated bishop by Germanus.
441.	Visit to Rome.
461.	Death of Patrick.

Miracles attributed to St. Patrick.

The later biographies of Patrick abound in stories of the miracles which he was supposed to have worked, but in his authentic works and in the hymn of Secundinus there is no trace of a claim to exercise miraculous powers. On the other incidents and details of his missionary labours in Ireland supplied by his biographies it is of little use to dwell, as the greater part of them do not rest on historical evidence that can be regarded as satisfactory.

Statements by Tirechan and Muirchu.

The outline of his travels and work in Ireland as given by Muirchu and Tirechan is briefly as follows. According to the latter he first visited Meath and made a direct attack on paganism at Tara, where Loigaire the high king of Ireland ruled. Having defeated the Druids at the court, he induced the king to tolerate

the preaching of Christianity, though he did not persuade him to accept baptism. According to Tirechan and Muirchu Patrick sailed north and landed in Strangford Lough. After having converted a chieftain named Dichu he visited Slemesh, where his former master Milchu (or Miliuc) still lived, intending to offer him money to reimburse him for the loss of his runaway slave and thus to conciliate him in favour of the Christian faith. Milchu, however, hearing of his approach and fearing hostile magic, burnt his own house and perished in the flames. Patrick then returned to Dichu and his first church was built at Saul (Irish *sabhall* a barn) where Dichu had given him a barn in which to worship.

He is said to have crossed the R. Shannon and to have visited Connaught three times. During his first tour he visited or, according to Prof. Bury, revisited the mountain of Crochan Aigli, now Croagh Patrick, and spent there forty days and forty nights in prayer and fasting. His church and monastery at Armagh, which date from 444, were built on land given him for the purpose by Daire a king of Oriel (South Ulster). According to one later account he resigned the bishopric of Armagh in 457 in favour of his pupil Benignus. He died at Saul on March 17, 461,[1] but Saul and Downpatrick both claim to be possessors of his grave. His death 461.

A careful examination of Patrick's *Confession* enables us to answer the question, What were the doctrines on which he laid special emphasis in the course of his His teaching.

[1] This is the date given in the Annals of Ulster and accepted by Bury; Ussher and Todd suggest 493.

missionary labours, in Ireland. The *Confession* contains in fact an outline of his belief which may be regarded as his creed. After speaking of the obligation which rested upon him to exalt and confess the works of God, he writes :—

"There is no other God, nor ever was, nor shall be hereafter, except God the Father, unbegotten, without beginning, from whom is all beginning, upholding all things, as we say; and His Son Jesus Christ, whom indeed we acknowledge to have been always with the Father before the beginning of the world, spiritually with the Father, begotten in an ineffable manner before all beginning; and by Him were made things visible and invisible, who was made man and, death having been vanquished, was received in the heavens to the Father . . . in whom we believe and whose coming we look for as soon to take place; who will be the judge of the living and the dead and who will render unto everyone according to his deeds; and He has poured upon us abundantly the Holy Spirit, a gift and pledge of immortality, who makes the faithful and the obedient to become sons of God and joint-heirs with Christ whom we confess and adore—one God in the Trinity of the sacred Name."

Comparing this informal creed of Patrick's belief with that of Nicæa we notice the omission in the former of any allusion to the burial, the descent into Hades or the resurrection of our Lord, but there are no grounds for supposing that a belief in these did not form part of his faith.

His character.

Of Patrick's personal character and disposition we know comparatively little. Most of those who have

studied his authentic writings and the earliest traditions will endorse the statement of Dr. Stokes who wrote concerning him, "He was modest, shrewd, generous, enthusiastic, with the Celtic tendency to exaggerate failure and success. Like St. Paul, he was desirous of martyrdom. He was physically brave and had strong passions which he learned to control." [1]

The Lorica.

If we are correct in assigning to Patrick the authorship of the hymn known as the Lorica or 'Breastplate,' it would appear that he shared the belief of many of his contemporaries in the magical powers that certain classes of persons claimed to possess. Thus we find in the hymn an invocation "against the spells of women and smiths and druids."

In the same hymn we have Patrick's beautiful amplification of the statement of St. Paul, "I live, and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me." The author of the hymn writes,

"Christ with me, Christ before me,
Christ behind me, Christ in me,
Christ under me, Christ over me,
Christ to right of me, Christ to left of me,
Christ in lying down, Christ in sitting, Christ in rising up."

The keeping of Easter.

We have already referred to the fact that there was a Christian community in Ireland before the time of Patrick or of his predecessor Palladius. An argument in favour of the contention that this community was of considerable size may be deduced from the variation between the Irish and continental uses in regard to the mode of calculating Easter and the form of the clerical tonsure. If, as there is reason

[1] *Tripartite Life* ed. by Dr. W. Stokes, i. cxxxv.

to suppose, Patrick received his ecclesiastical education and training in France, it is most unlikely that he would have afterwards introduced into Ireland customs disapproved of by the Gallic Church, and the unwillingness shown by the Irish to change their customs and to adopt the continental uses, and the vehement controversies which the proposal to do so excited, seem to show that the uses objected to had been introduced and widely adopted before the time of Patrick. The dispute in regard to the reckoning of Easter separated for a time the southern from the northern Irish. The southern Irish adopted the English, *i.e.* the Roman reckoning, in 634, whilst in the north this reckoning was not adopted till 704.[1]

Introduction of the monastic system.

If we may interpret Patrick's own statement that "sons of the Scots and daughters of chieftains are seen to be monks and virgins of Christ" in the light of the later information supplied by his biographers, the credit is due to him of introducing the monastic system into Ireland and of inaugurating the monastic schools, the subsequent development of which rendered Ireland famous throughout Europe, alike for its piety and its learning.[2] The early monasteries and monastic schools founded in, or soon after, the time of St. Patrick were collections of rude huts made of planks and moss: the church which was attached being built of wood frequently bore the name Duirthech, *i.e.* "house of oak." Many of the monasteries were situated on islands round the coast or in the inland lochs.[3]

[1] See p. 158 n.

[2] See the statement of St. Bernard "In exteras etiam nationes quasi inundatione factâ illa se sanctorum examina effuderunt." *Vita S. Malachiæ* c. 5. Migne *P.L.* clxxxii.

[3] For a further reference to Irish monasteries see pp. 65 f., 159.

The fact that Patrick's *Confession* and his letter to Coroticus were written in Latin gives support to the later tradition that he caused Latin to become the ecclesiastical language in Ireland. By doing so he rendered it possible for the monks and other students in the monasteries to get into touch with the greater part of the theological and secular literature that was then available in Western Europe. At the same time he prepared the way for the close relations that were eventually to be established between the Bishop of Rome and the Irish Church. Use of the Latin language.

Prof. Bury, comparing Patrick's action in making Latin instead of Gaelic the language of the Irish Church with the different policy adopted in Russia at the time of its conversion, writes :

" If Greek had been originally established as the ecclesiastical language of Russia in the days of Vladimir, we may surmise that in the days of Alexius all national peculiarities and deviations which had been introduced in the meantime could have easily been corrected without causing the great split. On the other hand if Gaelic had been established by Patrick as the ecclesiastical tongue of Ireland, the reformers, who in the seventh century sought to abolish idiosyncrasies and restore uniformity, might have caused a rupture in the Irish Church, which might have needed long years to heal." [1]

Before Patrick died there were, according to tradition, at least three other bishops in Ireland, Secundinus, Auxilius and Isserminus, but of their missionary labours or of those of their successors we know practically nothing. Other contemporary bishops

[1] *Life of S. Patrick*, p. 219 f.

A national Church of Ireland.

It is to be noted that the priests and bishops to whom Patrick entrusted the continuation and development of his work were in almost every instance natives of Ireland, and to this it was due that Christianity became almost at once a national institution. Although he was not himself a native of Ireland, he made no attempt to introduce men of his own nationality, nor, as was subsequently done in England, to bring men from Italy or France. Christianity "was not looked upon as coming from foreigners, or as representing the manners and civilization of a foreign nation. Its priests and bishops, the successors of St. Patrick in his missionary labours, were many of them descendants of the ancient kings and chieftains so venerated by a clannish people." [1]

St. Bridget.

Although the facts relating to her life and work are lost in the mists of tradition,[2] some mention should be made of St. Bridget (Brigid, Brigit, or Bride), who is reputed to have been the foundress of a large number of religious communities for women and to whose honour innumerable churches have been dedicated.[3] The earliest existing life of her was written by Cogitosus the father of Muirchu (one of Patrick's biographers) not earlier than the middle of the seventh century. This biography does not mention Patrick or bring Bridget into connection with him.[4]

[1] *S. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, by Todd, p. 514 f.

[2] The close resemblance between the rites connected with the cult of St. Bridget and those connected with the worship of the pagan Brigantes has been urged as a reason for supposing that the saint and the goddess are to be identified.

[3] There are 18 parishes in Ireland called Kilbride, *i.e.* church of Bridget.

[4] Cogitosus' *Life of Bridget* is printed in *Canisii Lectiones antiquæ*, vol. v. According to Todd the *Life* was written in the ninth century. Another life by Anmchad bishop of Kildare dates from the tenth century.

According to later tradition she was born about 450, was baptized by a disciple of Patrick and died in 513. For the greater part of her life she is said to have resided at the monastery of Kildare.

Two passages in the *Life of Gildas*, a Welsh saint (*circa* 516-570), and in the *Life of Disibod* have been quoted by several writers as affording evidence of a great pagan reaction throughout Ireland during the latter part of the sixth and the first half of the seventh century, but it is doubtful how far their evidence can be accepted as trustworthy.[1] According to the former statement, Gildas by his preaching in Ireland effected a great revival of the faith. Neither of these lives was written earlier than the tenth or eleventh century.

A revival of paganism.

The reintroduction of paganism at the time of the Danish invasion of Ireland throughout large sections of the island, was in part due to the missionary activities of Charlemagne. He had ravaged Saxony and northern Germany with fire and sword and had compelled their inhabitants to become nominal Christians. Those who escaped his oppression fled to Denmark and Scandinavia and by their tales of the cruelties practised by the Christian King imparted to their hosts their own bitter hatred for the name

Effects of the Danish invasion.

[1] See *Vita Gildæ* 11, 12. *Vita Disibodi* 1, 11 (Migne *P. L.* cxvii. 1099 ff.) also *Les Chrétientés Celtiques* par D. L. Gougaud, pp. 78 ff.

The monk of Ruys who wrote the first life of Gildas states that he went to Ireland at the request of King Ainmire (568-71) to "restore ecclesiastical order," because the Irish had "lost the catholic faith." Tirechanus (*circ.* 750) states that the second order of Irish Saints, beginning in 544, received their Order of mass from David, Cadoc and Gildas. Other traditions refer to the number of Irish who about this time went over to seek instruction in the faith in Wales. See H. and Stubbs i. p. 115 f.

Christian. When then at the close of the ninth century the Danes appeared off the coast of Ireland they were eager to obliterate every sign of Christianity that they found. In 793, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, "the Danes came and dreadfully destroyed the churches of Christ." In 795 they were first seen off the Irish coast.

Influence of the Druids.

It is probable that the reaction against Christianity was in part due to a revival of the influence of the Druids. Mention occurs of the use of Druidical charms by Fraechan, who is referred to as "the Druid king of Diarmait."[1] The rapid success which Patrick had formerly won is partly to be explained by the superficial character of the conversions which he secured. Thus Dr. O'Donovan writes: "Nothing is clearer than that Patrick engrafted Christianity on the pagan superstitions with so much skill that he won the people over to the Christian religion before they understood the exact difference between the two systems of belief, and much of this half pagan, half Christian, religion will be found not only in the Irish stories of the middle ages, but in the superstitions of the peasantry to the present day."[2]

Superficial conversions.

Worship of Thor in Armagh.

Turgesius, who landed in the north in 831, soon made himself master of nearly the whole island, and established the worship of Thor in Armagh, himself officiating as high priest. His conquests were in fact a crusade directed against Christianity. The murder of Turgesius in 845 put an end to this crusade and ere many decades had passed the Danes began to be influenced by their

[1] See *S. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, by Todd, p. 119.

[2] *Four Masters*, p. 131, note.

Christian surroundings, and paganism tended rapidly to disappear.

An important feature of Celtic Christianity in Ireland and to a lesser extent in Scotland and Wales was its tendency to multiply bishops, who were as a rule attached to monasteries and were not in charge of dioceses. Patrick is said himself to have consecrated no less than three hundred. Multiplicity of bishops.

The monastic establishment at St. Mochta in Co. Louth possessed 100 bishops. In some cases bishops lived together in groups of seven, the Donegal martyrology containing references to six such groups.[1] St. Bernard, writing in the twelfth century, says of Ireland that "bishops were changed and multiplied without order, and without reason, so that one bishopric was not content with a single bishop, but almost every church had its separate bishop."[2]

Irish monasticism, the development of which dates back to the days of Patrick, soon began to exercise a dominating influence upon the Irish Church, and its development rendered possible the missionary work on the continent for which Ireland became famous. Irish monasticism.

[1] See Todd's *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 32.

[2] *De vita Malachiæ.* Migne *P. L.* 182, col. 1086.

The tendency to multiply bishops in countries other than Ireland is illustrated by the canon of the Council of Laodicea (*circ.* 372) which prohibited the consecration of bishops for villages or for places where there were no towns.

The accepted tradition relating to the death of Condlaed who was bishop in the monastery of Kildare over which the "Blessed Bridget" presided, illustrates the subordinate position occupied by bishops in Ireland. The bishop asked Bridget's permission to go on a visit to Rome, and when she refused her consent he started without it. She then prayed that as a punishment for his disobedience he might meet with a sudden death on the road, and in answer to her prayers he was devoured by wild dogs in the plain of Leinster. (See Scholia in Acta S.S. on the martyrology of Ængus for May 3.)

The author of a recent book on Celtic monasticism writes concerning Ireland:

"There were three distinct developments of monasteries which extended from the introduction of Christianity until about the middle of the seventh century. The first was defensive: all Christians lived together for mutual protection: the village either became a Christian settlement, or all the Christian converts lived together and formed a Christian settlement—a fortified village—of their own. Then came the relapse into paganism, followed by the second conversion of Ireland, when Welsh monks came over and established schools of learning and devotion. South Wales provided for the centre and south of Ireland by the school or monastery of Clonard; North Wales providing for the north and Ulster by the school of the Irish Bangor. When these schools filled to overflowing, a third development arose. Monks went forth from the monasteries as hermits or missionaries, or both, and Ireland began to pay back her loan to Wales, by sending over missionaries to complete the conversion of that country. The schools continued and great efforts were made at teaching and converting by the missionaries from those schools. . . . The effort of this last development of Celtic monasticism was checked by two causes, the destruction of the great Welsh monastery of Bangor about 632 and the advance of the Latin clergy."[1]

The limits of our space forbid us to dwell upon the organization and history of these monasteries, or missionary colleges, as they deserve to be called, but in describing the efforts made to convert other

[1] *The Celtic Church of Wales* by I. W. Willis Bund, p. 177 f.

lands we shall frequently be reminded of their activities.

We pass on to consider the development of Christianity in the country to which the first missionaries who had received their training in Ireland directed their steps.

CHAPTER III

SCOTLAND

Early traces of Christianity.

During the Roman occupation of England the south of Scotland as far north as the wall connecting the Clyde with the Firth of Forth was occupied at intervals by Roman troops, and though no record of their work has survived, it is probable that a knowledge of Christianity was introduced amongst its inhabitants by Roman or British Christians. The oldest existing trace of Christianity in Scotland is probably a column in the churchyard of Kirkmadrine in Wigtownshire, the inscription[1] on which reads:—"Here lie holy and eminent priests, namely Viventius and Mavorius." There are several other monumental stones in Wigtownshire which may perhaps claim an equal antiquity, and which probably date back to a time prior to the withdrawal of the Roman legions, *i.e.* to the beginning of the fifth century.

Inscription at Kirkmadrine.

Use of the word "Scotia."

Before referring to the work of the earliest known missionaries it will be well to recall the fact that the

[1] hic jacent sči et præcipui sacerdotes id es(t) viventius et mavorius. Dean Stanley writes, "Nowhere in Great Britain is there a Christian record so ancient as the grey weather-beaten column that now serves as the gatepost of the deserted churchyard of Kirk Madrine. . . . Long may it stand as the first authentic trace of Christian civilization in these islands." *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 85. Bp. Dowden suggests that "ides" is a proper name, also that "præcipui sacerdotes" probably means "bishops." See *Proceedings of Antiquarians of Scotland*, vol. xxxii. (1897-8), p. 247.

names Scot and Scotia were, in early times, applied exclusively to the Irish and to Ireland. Up to the twelfth century the word 'Scots' was used to denote the Irish of Ireland, or the Irish settlers on the west coast of what is now called Scotland.[1] It is important to remember this fact when referring to the earliest sources of information concerning the evangelization of Scotland.

Idols.

It is doubtful whether the early inhabitants of Scotland possessed any idols, but their Druids acted as diviners, sorcerers and medicine men.[2] The first missionary concerning whose life and work anything can be definitely ascertained is Ninian. Bede, who is our earliest and only trustworthy authority for his life, unfortunately devotes but a few lines to him. He writes, "The southern Picts . . . had long before (*i.e.* before 565), as is reported, forsaken the errors of idolatry and embraced the true faith by the preaching of Nynia a most reverend bishop and holy man of the British nation, who had been regularly instructed at Rome in the faith and mysteries of the truth; whose episcopal seat, named after Saint Martin the bishop and famous for its church, where he himself and many other saints rest in the body, is still in existence among the English nation. The place belongs to the province of the Bernicians and is commonly called the White House because he built there a church of stone, contrary to the custom of the Britons." [3] Aelred a monk of Rievaulx in Yorkshire, who wrote an elaborate life of Ninian 700 years after his death, claims to have

St. Ninian.

Candida Casa monastery.

[1] See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. pp. 137, 398.

[2] See *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*, by Bp. Healy.

[3] Bede iii. 4.

made use of an earlier source, but the marvels and absurdities with which his life abounds render it impossible to accept even the outline of the life given by him as historical.

Ninian was probably born of Christian parents on the shores of the Solway about 350. According to Aelred he was consecrated as a bishop in Rome and, having visited Tours on his way back from Rome, procured from St. Martin masons, by whose help he built his "church of stone." On his return he carried on his missionary labours, which were attended with great success, amongst the southern Picts who inhabited the middle parts of Scotland south of the Grampians. He is said to have died on September 16, 432.[1] It is probable that he introduced the monastic system into northern Britain, and many Welsh and Irish students resorted to his monastery at Candida Casa prior to its destruction by the Saxons. According to some authorities Bannaven Taberniæ, where Patrick was born and where he spent his boyhood, is to be identified with Dumbarton on the Clyde. If this identification be accepted[2] it would tend to show that a Christian community had existed here for at least 50 years prior to his birth (*circ.* 389), as Patrick's grandfather was a Christian priest. Fordun's *Chronicle*, written about 1385, states that Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine to labour

Palladius in Scotland?

[1] Many churches in Scotland have been dedicated to St. Ninian, one of the latest being the cathedral church at Perth. "Irish tradition, or invention, takes Nynias to Ireland towards the end of his life to found the church of Cluain Conaire in Leinster, and to die there. He is commemorated in the Irish calendars as Moinenn *i.e.* my Nynias." Plummer, *Baedæ opera* ii. 128. The form Trinian occurs in the Isle of Man.

[2] According to Prof. Bury the site of Patrick's birth was in South Wales, or in the neighbourhood of the Bristol Channel.

as a missionary in Scotland, but the source of his information which is obviously the statement by Prosper of Aquitaine that he was sent as first bishop to the Scots, has evidently been misinterpreted by him.[1] By "Scots" Prosper could only have meant the Irish. Fordun further states that St. Ternan and St. Serf (Servanus) were fellow-labourers with Palladius. The names of these two are preserved in Scottish tradition. St. Ternan and St. Serf.

The southern Picts, who had been converted by Ninian at the beginning of the fifth century, and had apparently relapsed into heathenism by the middle of the sixth century,[2] were restored to the faith by the labours of Kentigern commonly known in Scotland as St. Mungo. The scene of his labours was the British kingdom of Strathclyde, or Cumbria, which extended from Dumbarton its capital to the R. Derwent in Cumberland, and was bounded on the east by Bernicia, the kingdom of the Angles. The only life of Kentigern which we possess was written to order for the Bishop of Glasgow by Jocelyn a monk in Furness Abbey, Lancashire. Bp. Dowden refers to this life as a "tissue of monstrous absurdities."[3] The facts concerning his early life which are regarded by modern authorities as possibly true are these. His mother, the daughter of a Pictish king, when about to give birth to a child was cast adrift on the sea in a frail coracle and eventually landed and gave birth to her son on the shore of the Forth. Here the mother and child were cared for by St. Serf St. Kentigern.

[1] See above, p. 48, note.

[2] See Jocelyn's *Life of Kentigern* cap. xxvii. Picti vero prius per Sanctum Ninianum ex magna parte . . . fidem susceperunt, Dein in apostasiam lapsi. He speaks of the king of Lothian as semipaganus.

[3] *The Celtic Ch. in Scotland*, p. 52, and 58-79.

and the name Kentigern[1] and afterwards the name Mungo were given to the child. At the age of 25 he was chosen as bishop of Strathclyde and was consecrated by a single bishop who was brought from Ireland for the purpose. Kentigern established a monastery at Glasgow where he remained till the hostility of a new king of Strathclyde induced him to seek refuge among the Christian Britons in Wales.

Visit to Wales.

On his journey south he preached in the districts round Carlisle, where to-day nine churches are dedicated to his memory. After residing for a time with Bishop David, he founded the monastery of Llanelwy[2] and, about 573, returned to Strathclyde, on the invitation of a new king named Roderick[3] who gave him a hearty welcome. Soon after his return, when he was now an old man, he met at Glasgow the famous missionary Columba, who came to Glasgow with a great company of monks to greet him. As the two drew near to each other both parties chanted aloud psalms and spiritual songs. The bishop and the saint embraced each other and exchanged staves in token of their mutual love in Christ. The date of Kentigern's death is probably about 603.[4]

Meeting with St. Columba.

St. Columba.

We pass with a sense of relief from the largely mythological biographies of Ninian and Kentigern to the more trustworthy record of Scotland's third great missionary, saint Columba, as given by Adamnan. Adamnan was abbot (from 679 to 704) of the monastery

[1] Kentigern probably means "chief lord," Mungo means "Dear and loveable."

[2] See p. 157.

[3] Roderick having defeated his heathen enemies had become ruler of a kingdom which stretched from the Clyde to the Mersey.

[4] Jocelyn his biographer states that he died "matured in merit" at the age of 185!

in Iona which Columba had founded and in his early years had "frequent opportunities of conversing with those who had seen St. Columba."[1] "Adamnan's memoir," writes Dr. Reeves, "is to be prized as an inestimable literary relic of the Irish Church; perhaps with all its defects the most valuable monument of that institution which has escaped the ravages of time."[2] Although his work partakes of the nature of hagiology and consists to a large extent of miracles and wonders, the biographical details which it contains are stamped with the impress of truth.[3] Columba, who was born in Donegal in 521, belonged to the clan of the O'Donnells and his father and mother were both connected with royal families. He is said to have received the two names of Crimthann, a wolf, and Columba, a dove. He attended the monastic school of Finnian of Movilla, where he was ordained deacon, and also received instruction from the "bard" Gemman in Leinster. According to later tradition he afterwards resided for several years at the monastery of Clonard over which another Finnian presided, where he was ordained a priest. He subsequently devoted fifteen years to founding monasteries and building churches in various parts of Ireland and of the islands off the west coast. According to the earliest traditions his departure from Ireland and the start of his missionary work in Scotland were an act of penitence. It is said that his old

His life in Ireland.

[1] For traditions respecting Adamnan see Reeves' *Life of Saint Columba*, pp. cxlix. and 99.

[2] Id. p. xxxi.

[3] The life by Adamnan consists of three parts, the first containing illustrations of Columba's prophetic revelations, the second referring to his power of working miracles, and the last dealing with "Angelic apparitions which have been revealed either to others concerning the blessed man or to himself concerning others."

teacher Finnian of Movilla lent Columba a "book" or a "Gospel"[1] to examine and that he transcribed it before returning the original, whereupon Finnian claimed possession of the copy. The dispute as to its ownership having been referred to the king of Meath, the judgment delivered was, "To every cow her calf belongs, and so to every book its child-book." Columba, enraged at the decision, invited his kinsmen to wage war against Diarmaid's clan, and in the battle which ensued 3000 of these were killed, whereupon, moved with remorse, he consulted his friend Molaise who lived on Inismurray, six miles off the coast of Sligo, who bade him leave Ireland and devote his life to missionary work amongst the heathen Picts till he had converted to Christ as many persons as had been killed in the battle against the king of Meath. The tradition is of uncertain value, and, whether or not the story concerning the "Gospel" and the ensuing battle be true, it is not improbable, as Skene suggests, that the defeat which the British Dalriads had suffered at the hands of the Picts under their king Brude had appealed to the chivalrous instincts of Columba and induced him to aid them by attempting to convert their foes. Thus Skene writes, "This great reverse called forth the mission of Columba, commonly called Columcille, and led to the foundation of the monastic Church in Scotland."[2] The old Irish life of Columba has nothing to say concerning his remorse or penance. The account which it gives runs as follows: "When Columcille had made the circuit of all Erin, and

The Irish life of Columba.

[1] Probably to be identified with the extracts from the Psalter contained in the *Cathach of S. Columba* (ed. by Dr. H. S. Lawlor), see p. 582.

[2] *Celtic Scotland*, ii. p. 79.

when he had sown faith and religion, when numerous multitudes had been baptized by him, when he had founded churches and monasteries and had left in them elders, and reliquaries and relics therein, the determination that he had determined from the beginning of his life came into his mind, namely to go on a pilgrimage. He then meditated going across the sea to preach the word of God to the men of Scotland (Ir. Albanchaib). He went therefore on the journey. Forty-five years was he in Scotland: seventy-seven years was his full age."[1]

Arrival at Iona.

According to the Irish tradition Columba landed on Iona[2] with 20 bishops, 40 priests, 30 deacons and 50 students, but according to the story as told by Adamnan, which is much more credible, he had twelve companions in all. The date of his landing was 563. He had apparently received a grant of the island from his kinsman Conal, the reigning prince of the Dalriads in Scotland. Here he built a church and some monastic cells, and after a short time he landed on the mainland and proceeded to visit the Pictish king Brude whose chief residence was at a place near Inverness. Arriving at the king's residence he and his companions were met by closed doors, which, however, at the sign of the cross opened at once to admit them, and, after no long delay, king Brude accepted

Visit to king Brude.

[1] Quoted by W. Stokes in *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. 178.

[2] "In the early Irish records the name of the island appears as Ia, Hya, or Hy. This last form (pronounced *ee*) is still used in reference to the island by the Gaels of the Western Highlands." (*The Celtic Church in Scotland*, Dowden, p. 127). The word Iona is clearly a corruption of Ioua which is the name used by Adamnan. The name Icolmcille = the island of Colum of the cells. (See Bede *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 9; see also Reeves' *Life of Saint Columba* pp. cxxvi.-cxxx.)

the Christian faith and he and many of his people were baptized.

Columba's biographers have unfortunately preserved for us no details in regard to his missionary labours amongst the Picts, whose country was the scene of his chief missionary efforts. He laboured also unceasingly among the Christians on the south-east coast of Scotland and the islands, and the extent of his influence amongst these may be inferred from the fact that he "ordained" Aidan as king of Scottish Dalriada in 574, Aidan having come to him to Iona for this purpose.[1]

He revisits Ireland.

In 575 he was present at a gathering of chiefs and ecclesiastics at Drumceatt in Ireland, attended (if a later tradition be true) by 40 priests, 50 deacons and 20 students, and was instrumental in freeing the inhabitants of Dalriada from the payment of tribute to the chief king of Ireland.

He is also said to have been present at the battle of Coleraine, fought between his followers and those of St. Comgall of Bangor in 579, as the result of a quarrel relating to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. About the year 585 Columba paid another visit to Ireland, and revisited the monastery of Durrow, founded by him in 553, and St. Kiaran's monastery at Clonmacnoise, which afterwards became one of the most important centres of religion in Ireland.

References in Bede.

Bede, in the course of a brief description of Columba and his work, writes: "he converted the Pictish nation to the faith of Christ by his preaching and example." Of Iona he writes: "That island has for its ruler an abbot who is a priest, to whose direction all the province

[1] Adamnan iii. 5.

and even the bishops, contrary to the usual method, are subject, according to the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop, but a priest and a monk." [1]

Columba's intercessory prayers.

A beautiful and, from the modern missionary standpoint, a helpful story is told by Adamnan of the way in which Columba by his intercessory prayers on their behalf was enabled to come to the relief of his fellow-labourers when they were tired and exhausted. He writes: "As the brethren, after harvest work, were returning to the monastery in the evening . . . they seemed each one to feel within himself something wonderful and unusual . . . and for some days at the same place and at the same hour in the evening they perceived it. . . . One of them, a senior (when asked to explain) says . . . 'a certain unaccustomed and incomparable joy is spread abroad in my heart, which of a sudden consoles me in a wonderful way, and so greatly gladdens me that I can think neither of sadness nor labour. The load, moreover, however heavy, which I am carrying on my back from this place until we come to the monastery, is so much lightened, how I know not, that I do not feel that I am bearing any burden.' When all the others had made similar statements, Baithen, 'the superintendent of labours among them,' said, 'Ye know that Columba, mindful of our toil, thinks anxiously about us and grieves that we come to him so late, and by reason that he comes not in body to meet us, his spirit meets our steps, and that it is which so much consoles and makes us glad.'" [2]

Adamnan describes at some length "the passing

[1] *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 4.

[2] *Vita* i. 29.

Adamnan's description of his death.

away" of the saint thirty-four years after his coming to Iona. Knowing that the end was near at hand, "the old man, weary with age, is borne on a wagon and goes to visit the brethren while at their work." To them he says: "During the Easter festival . . . with desire I have desired to pass away to Christ . . . but lest a festival of joy should be turned for you into sadness, I thought it better to put off the day of my departure from the world a little longer."[1] Then "sitting just as he was in the wagon, turning his face eastward, he blessed the island, with its inhabitants." At the end of the same week[2] he and his attendant Diarmaid went to bless the granary, and he gave thanks to God for the store of corn which it contained. As he was returning from the granary "a white horse, the same that used, as a willing servant, to carry the milk vessels from the cowshed to the monastery, runs up to him, and lays his head against his breast . . . and knowing that his master was soon about to leave him, and that he would see him no more began to whinny and to shed copious tears into the lap of the saint."[3] Columba refused to allow the horse to be interfered with, and "he blessed his servant, the horse, as it sadly turned to go away from him." Then he ascended a little hill which overlooked the monastery and after standing for awhile on the top he raised both his hands and

[1] Id. iii. 24.

[2] It would appear that when Christianity first spread throughout Scotland it was the custom of many Christians to observe Saturday as a day of rest and to allow ordinary work to be done on Sundays. Thus Skene writes, referring to this custom, "they seem to have followed a custom of which we find traces in the early monastic Church of Ireland, by which they held Saturday to be the sabbath on which they rested from all their labours, and on Sunday, on the Lord's day, they celebrated the resurrection by the service in church." (*Celtic Scotland* ii. 349.)

[3] Id.

blessed the monastery, saying, "Upon this place, small though it be and mean, not only the kings of the Scots (Irish) and their peoples, but also the rulers of barbarous and foreign races, with the people subject to them, shall confer great and notable honour: by the saints also even of other churches shall no common reverence be accorded to it." Returning again to the monastery he sat in his hut transcribing the thirty-fourth Psalm and when he came to the verse "They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing" he said, "I must stop at the foot of this page, and what follows let Baithen write." Then he attended vespers in the church and afterwards, sitting up in his cell, he addressed his last words to the brethren, saying, "These my last words I commend to you, O my sons, that ye have mutual and unfeigned love among yourselves, with peace; and if, according to the example of the holy fathers, ye shall observe this, God, the Comforter of the good, will help you, and I, abiding with Him, will intercede for you." When the bell began to toll at midnight he rises in haste and, "running faster than the others, he enters alone and on bended knees falls down in prayer beside the altar." Here, a few moments later, the brethren found him, "and," writes Adamnan, "as we have learned from some who were there present, the saint, his soul not yet departing, with open eyes upturned, looked round about on either side with wonderful cheerfulness and joy of countenance on seeing the holy angels coming to meet him."

After describing the miraculous occurrences which attended his funeral, Adamnan continues: "This great favour has also been granted to this same man of

blessed memory, that although he lived in this small and remote isle of the British Ocean, his name hath not only become illustrious throughout the whole of our own Scotia (Ireland) and Britain, largest of the islands of the whole world, but hath reached even so far as triangular Spain, and the Gauls and Italy . . . even to the city of Rome itself which is the head of all cities."[1]

Character of St. Columba.

Of Columba's character and disposition we know more than of his missionary labours, concerning which his biographers tell us far less than we could have wished to hear.

The author of the life given in the *Acta Sanctorum* writes by way of illustrating Columba's humility and piety: "He would bathe the feet of the Brethren after their daily labour, he would carry the bags of flour from the mill to the kitchen, he subjected himself to great austerities, sleeping on a hide spread on the ground with a stone for a pillow, most strict and constant in fasting, in prayer, in meditation."[2]

Apart from the reference to the transcription of the Psalter by Columba immediately before his death, frequent allusions occur to his skill as a transcriber of the Scriptures or of other books. Thus Adamnan refers incidentally to a book of hymns for the week which had been written by his hand.[3]

He writes:

"He could not pass the space even of a single hour without applying himself either to prayer, or reading, or writing, or else to some manual labour. By day and

[1] iii. 23.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum*, June 9.

[3] *ii.* 9, hymnorum liber septimanorum. See also ii. 45, where a reference occurs to the "books of the blessed man placed on the altar."

by night he was so occupied, without any intermission, in unwearied exercises of fasts and vigils that the burden of any one of these particular labours might seem to be beyond human endurance. And, amid all, dear to all, ever showing a pleasant holy countenance, he was gladdened in his inmost heart by the joy of the Holy Spirit." [1]

Bp. Westcott on Columba's sympathy.

Bishop Westcott writes: "Columba loved men and through love he understood them. He was enabled to recognize the signs of a divine kinsmanship, the unconscious strivings after noble things, in the ignorant, the rude, the wayward. . . . By a living sympathy he entered into the souls of those who came before him. . . . He had mastered the secret of effective help to the suffering by making his own the burden of which they could be relieved. . . . Columba loved men and he loved nature because in both he saw God. His vision embraced the great spiritual realities of life. He regarded things with a spiritual eye: therefore his countenance flashed from time to time with beams of an unearthly joy, when, in the language of his biographer, he saw the ministering angels round about him." [2]

In the 8th century the remains of Columba were disinterred and conveyed to Ireland, owing to the fear caused by the ravages of the Danes. In 802 the monastery of Iona was pillaged and burned by the Danes.

The half Christianized tribes of Angles in the south-east of Scotland shared the fate of those in the north-east of England, and were overrun by Penda

[1] Bk. i. second preface.

[2] *Leaders in the Northern Church*, by Bp. Lightfoot. Appendix p. 181-3.

the heathen king of Mercia when Edwin was defeated and killed at the battle of Heathfield (633).

Efforts to evangelize the Picts.

After the death of Columba members of his brotherhood continued their efforts to evangelize the Picts throughout the north of Scotland.

The following list of Christian settlements, mostly in Western Scotland, which were the direct outcome of Columba's work in Iona, is given by Haddan and Stubbs[1]—St. Mochonna (or Machar), a bishop, one of Columba's companions in Aberdeen: St. Cormac the navigator, either one of St. Columba's disciples, or the Head of an independent monastery in the Orkneys: St. Ernan in the isle of Himba or Hinba: St. Lugneus Mocumin in the isle of Elena: SS. Baithen and Findchan at Campus Lunge and Artchain in Ethica (Tiree): SS. Cailtan and Diuni near Loch Awe (?): S. Drostan at Aberdour and Deer in Buchan. The foregoing were all disciples of Columba and their work dates from 563 to 597. The following were independent of Columba: St. Moluag at Lismore in Argyll, 592: St. Congan at Lochalsh in N. Argyll, about 600, or possibly in the 8th century: St. Donnan in Eigg, martyred in 617: episcopal abbots at Kingarth in Bute, before 660: St. Maelrubha at Applecross, 671.

Missionary settlements in the far North.

In the extreme north, and more especially in the northern islands, the heathen Scandinavians, who are frequently referred to as Danes, gradually increased in numbers. Caithness and Sutherland came to form part of the earldom of Orkney under the suzerainty of the king of Norway. The Irish missionaries failed to convert these intruders, but when Christianity spread

[1] vol. ii. Pt. i. p. 107: see also *Celtic Scotland* by Skene ii. pp. 134-138.

throughout Scandinavia at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century,[1] their conversion was gradually effected.

Orkney and Shetland Islands

Visit of Columba, 565.

The first trustworthy reference to the introduction of Christianity into the Orkney Islands is the account of a visit made by Columba and some of his companions about 565. A Scottish tradition embodied in the Aberdeen Breviary asserts that Servanus a companion of Palladius was sent by him as a bishop to the Orkneys, but this tradition has no historical basis. The Orkney islands were inhabited by Picts till the ninth century, when the Norse invasions began. The Orkney and Shetland islands passed under the rule of the Norwegian jarls who were driven away from Norway in 872 by Harald Haarfager.

Irish monks in the Shetland Islands.

According to a statement made by the Irish monk Dicuil, who wrote about 825, it would appear that Irish monks or hermits had settled on the Shetland Islands during the eighth century.[2] These were apparently driven away by the pagan Northmen.

The Northmen who afterwards settled in these islands remained as heathen till the time of Olaf Tryggveson of Norway. When Olaf was on his way from Dublin to Norway he put in at the island of South Ronaldsa

[1] See p. 469.

[2] See *De mensura orbis terræ*, p. 30, where he speaks of the islands "quæ a septemtrionalibus Britanniæ insulis duorum dierum ac noctium recta navigatione plenis velis assiduo feliciter adiri queunt, in quibus in centum ferme annis eremitæ ex nostra Scotia navigantes habitaverunt. Sed sicuti a principio mundi desertæ semper fuerunt, ita nunc causa latronum Normannorum vacuæ anchoretis plenæ innumerabilibus avibus."

and finding that the Earl Sigurd Lodvesson had only one fighting ship with him he summoned him on board and explained to him that the time had come for his baptism, stating that the alternative would be his immediate execution, to be followed by the devastation of the islands. Sigurd and his followers were accordingly baptized and he was at the same time compelled to swear allegiance to Olaf and to give his son as a hostage for his good faith. Of any missionary work accomplished in these islands we have no record.

Both the Orkney and Shetland islands contain dedications to St. Columba, St. Bridget, St. Ninian and St. Tredwell. Their political union with Scotland was not finally accomplished till 1468, and the Norse language continued to be spoken in the islands till the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER IV

ENGLAND

Introduction of Christianity.

THE names and nationality of the first missionaries to Britain are wrapt in an obscurity which we cannot hope to disperse. It is likely that a knowledge of the faith was first introduced either by Christian soldiers in the Roman army, or by traders, who visited these shores from time to time in order to supply the wants of the legions that were stationed in Britain. An interesting trace of the presence in the north of England of a Syrian, who was evidently a trader and may have been a Christian Jew, was afforded by the discovery in 1878 at South Shields of the gravestone of a British woman who had been married to a Syrian. The last word of the Syriac inscription is of doubtful meaning, but it may perhaps be translated, "May her portion be in life everlasting." Whether this translation can be maintained or not, the inscription, which dates from the end of the second, or the beginning of the third century,[1] affords an illustration of the intercourse

Early intercourse with Syria.

[1] For an account of the finding of this stone, and a discussion in regard to its meaning, see the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology" 1879, vol. 6, pt. 2. On the stone, which is 6 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in., is carved the figure of a woman sitting on a chair with flowers in her lap and a basket of fruit at her left side. The stone was found at the site of the Roman cemetery not far from the Castrum. The first part of the inscription, which is in Latin, reads "(To the memory of) the woman Regina of the (British) tribe of the Catuvellauni, the freedwoman and

that probably existed between Britain and the East as early as the Christian Era, and suggests one of the sources from which Britons may have gained their first knowledge of Christianity.

Statements by Clement,

The statement of Clement of Rome[1] that St. Paul reached the farthest bounds of the West has been interpreted by some as referring to Britain, but there can be no reasonable doubt that Spain was the country to which the words were intended to refer.

and Martial.

The poet Martial, who settled in Rome in A.D. 66, refers to a British lady in Rome named Claudia, who was the wife of Pudens.[2] It is at least possible that these are to be identified with the Claudia and Pudens from whom St. Paul sends greetings to Timothy,[3] but, even if we accept the identification, there is no evidence that Claudia ever returned to Britain or made any direct effort to spread the knowledge of her faith there. Pomponia Græcina, who was accused and acquitted at Rome in 57 A.D. of a "foreign superstition," may perhaps have been a British Christian.[4]

King Lucius.

Bede states that in the time of Eleutherus, bishop of Rome, "Lucius, King of the Britons, sent a letter to him requesting that by his mandate he might be made a Christian. He soon obtained the fulfilment of

wife of Barates of Palmyra, (who died) aged 30." Underneath this is a line written in Syriac of which the first four words translate, "Regina the freedwoman of Barate," while the last word may either be an expression of regret, or may be translated "May his (or her) portion be in life everlasting." This translation, which was suggested by the Jewish Rabbi of Shields, was supported by Dr. Schiller Szinessy. The tomb of Barates has also been discovered.

[1] *Ep. ad Cor.* i. 5.

[2] *Ep.* xi. 53.

[3] 2 Tim. iv. 21.

[4] See Tacitus *Ann.* xiii. 32. Her husband Aulus Plautius had come back in triumph from Britain.

his pious demand, and the Britons received the faith and kept it in quiet peace inviolate and entire, unto the times of the Prince Diocletian." [1]

This story, which is probably completely fabulous, has been largely embellished by later writers.

Inscription in St. Paul's Cathedral.

The following is a copy of the inscription which was inscribed on a brass plate in St. Paul's Cathedral before the fire of London.

"Be hit known to al Men that the yeerys of our Lord God An. CLXXIX, Lucius, the fyrst Christian King of this land, then called Brytayne, fowndyd the fyrst Chyrch in London, that is to sey, the Chyrch of St. Peter apon Cornhyl,—and he fowndyd ther an Archbishoppys see, and made that Chirch the Metropolitant and cheef Chirch of this Kindom, and so enduryd the space of CCCC yeerys and more, unto the coming of Sent Austen, an Apostyl of England, the whych was sent into the land by Sent Gregory, the Doctor of the Church, in the tym of King Ethelbert, and then was the Archbishopyys See and Pol removyd from the aforeseyd Chirch by Sent Peters apon Cornhyl unto Derebernaum, that now ys called Canterbury, and ther yt remeynyth to this day." [2]

Lucius or Abgarus.

Harnack has offered the ingenious and plausible conjecture that this Lucius is to be identified with

[1] *Hist. Eccl.* i. 4. Bede here gives the date as 156, but Eleutherus did not become bishop of Rome till 171 (or possibly 177). The earliest authority for this story is the *Liber Pontificalis* written about 530. Thence Bede probably obtained it through his friend Nothelm, or his monks, who visited Rome in 701. Bishop Browne writes, "The documents which profess to be the letters connected with this request are unskilful forgeries."

[2] *Funeral Monuments of St. Paul's* by Weever, 1631, p. 413, quoted by Bishop Browne in *The Christian Church in these islands before the coming of Augustine*, p. 60.

Abgarus king of Edessa, who, according to the well-known legend, invited our Lord to visit Edessa.[1]

Joseph of Arimathea.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the legend that the church at Glastonbury owed its origin to Joseph of Arimathea, who was alleged to have been sent by Philip to Britain in 63 A.D. The story first appears in the writings of William of Malmesbury who died about 1142. The legend may at any rate be accepted as proving that a Christian community existed at Glastonbury at a very early date.

Statements by Tertullian,

Tertullian, writing in, or a little before, 208, says "In all parts of Spain, among the various nations of Gaul, in districts of Britain inaccessible to the Romans, but subdued to Christ, in all these the kingdom and name of Christ are venerated."[2] The inaccuracy of his statement as concerns Spain and Gaul renders it difficult to accept his reference to Britain as altogether historical. Origen, writing about 230, asks "When before the coming of Christ did the land of Britain agree to the worship of the one God? or the land of the Mauri? or the whole round earth? But now, thanks to the Churches which occupy the bounds of the world, the whole earth shouts with joy to the Lord of Israel."[3]

and Origen.

His statement is obviously incapable of a literal interpretation, but, in conjunction with the statement

[1] He suggests that by a transcriptional error in a notice inserted in the *Liber Pontificalis*, subsequent to 530, Lucius, which was the first of the names borne by Abgarus, was interpreted as the name of a British king. In an early list of tombs of the apostles Edessa is referred to as Britio Edessenorum. The word Britio may have suggested the substitution of a British Lucius of Edessa. (See *Expansion of C.* ii. 410.)

[2] *adv. Judæos* vii. For a defence of the historical accuracy of Tertullian's statement see *Christianity in Early Britain* by Williams, pp. 75 f.

[3] Origen *Hom.* iv. 1, in Ezek. xiv. 59. See also *Hom.* vi. in Luc. and *Hom.* xxviii. in Matt.

of Tertullian, it tends to establish the fact that there was a considerable number of Christians in Britain early in the third century.

We come now to the well-known story of the martyrdom of St. Alban, which is stated by Bede to have occurred during the persecution of Diocletian.[1] The account given by Bede[2] may be summarized as follows and partly in his own words. Alban, whilst still a pagan, having received and sheltered a Christian cleric who was fleeing from his persecutors, was so influenced by his piety and his prayers that "he left the darkness of idolatry and became a Christian with his whole heart." When the soldiers of the "impious prince" came to seize his guest, Alban assumed his dress and delivered himself to them in his stead. The judge before whom he was taken, who was standing by an altar of the gods, said to him, "Because you have preferred to conceal a rebel and a sacrilegious person rather than give him up to the soldiers, that the scorner of the gods might pay the penalty merited by his blasphemy, whatever punishments were due to him it is yours to undergo, if you attempt to flinch from the observances of our religion." Alban replied that he was a Christian and that "whosoever shall have offered sacrifices to these images shall receive the eternal punishments of hell as his reward." After being scourged he was led forth across the river to be beheaded. Three separate miracles occurred in connection with his martyrdom, whereupon the judge, overawed by the miracles, St. Alban.

[1] The Diocletian persecution began in 303. The *Saxon Chronicle* dates the martyrdom of St. Alban in 283.

[2] *Hist. Eccl.* i. 7. A reference to the martyrdom of St. Alban occurs in the *Life of Germanus* by Constantius (i. 25), and in Gildas (*Hist.* viii.).

refrained from further persecutions. About the same time, according to Bede, "Aaron and Julius, citizens of Legionum Urbs (Caerleon), and very many others of both sexes suffered in different places."

The story of St. Alban's martyrdom was fully believed at Verulamium (St. Albans) in 429.[1] A century later it was narrated by Gildas and it is alluded to by Fortunatus [2] in a line which Bede quotes.

Although the story, as given by Bede, has obviously been embellished, there seems no good reason to doubt the occurrence of the martyrdom.

Constantius at York.

Sozomen, writing about 443, tells of an experiment which Constantius the father of Constantine is said to have made at York in order to discover which amongst the many Christian servants in his palace were "good men." He issued an order that those Christians who were prepared to sacrifice to the gods whom he himself worshipped might remain in his service and continue to enjoy their former honours, whilst those who were unwilling to sacrifice should be banished and might consider themselves fortunate if they were not punished. The Christians on receiving this order divided into two sections, some being willing to desert their former religion, others "preferring the things which were divine to present good." Constantius then announced that he would treat those who had remained faithful to their God as friends and counsellors, whilst he banished from intercourse with him those who had proved to be cowards and impostors, as he considered that those who had readily become traitors

[1] See Haddan and Stubbs i. 6.

[2] Fortunatus, *De laude virginum* iii. 155, 'Egregium Albanum fecunda Britannia profert.' Fortunatus, who became bishop of Poitiers, was born *circa* 530.

to their God would not be well disposed towards their king.[1]

British bishops at Arles,

At the Council of Arles, which met in 314 to discuss questions raised by the Donatist schism, three British bishops were present, Eborius of York, Restitutus of London and Adelphius of Caerleon on Usk.[2] The record of the names of the bishops who attended the Council of Nicæa in 325, which is very incomplete, does not contain the name of a British representative; but, in view of Constantine's connection with Britain, it is extremely likely that the British Church was represented.[3] At the Council of Sardica (347), 33 bishops were present from the Roman province of Gaul in which Britain was included, but the actual number of British bishops is not recorded. At the Council of Rimini (359), three of the British bishops who were present were so poor that they accepted an allowance for their expenses offered by Constantius.[4] Gibbon states his opinion that about this time the British Church might have possessed 30 or 40 bishops. The treatise written by Hilary of Poitiers against the Arians in preparation for this Council, and which was addressed to the British bishops among others, takes for granted that they were thoroughly acquainted with the various subtle points that were in dispute. In 363 Athanasius included the British Christians among those who had assented to the decrees

Nicæa,

Sardica,

and Rimini.

[1] Sozomen *Hist. Eccl.* i. 6. Migne *P. Gr.* lxvii. col. 871. The story occurs also in Eusebius, *Vita Constantii* i. 16, 415.

[2] The last is described as de civitate Colonia Londinensium. The last word is perhaps a corruption of Legionensium. See H. and Stubbs i. 7: Bright, Bingham, Lingard and others would read Lindensium, *i.e.* Lincoln.

[3] Constantine invited ἀπανταχόθεν τοὺς ἐπισκόπους.

[4] See Sulpicius Severus ii. 41.

of the Council of Nicæa,[1] a statement which suggests that Gildas and Bede, who adopted the opinion of Gildas, greatly exaggerated the influence of Arianism in Britain.[2]

Statements by Chrysostom, and Jerome.

Chrysostom says that the "British isles have felt the power of the Word" and that their belief did not differ from that of the Christians of Constantinople.[3] Jerome, writing about 395, says that Britain "worships the same Christ and that British pilgrims were to be met with in Palestine."[4] Victricius bishop of Rouen is said to have visited Britain in 396 at the request of the North Italian Bishops.[5]

British Christians at Jerusalem.

Several references occur which suggest that it was common for British Christians, early in the fifth century, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Thus Theodoret, writing about 440, and referring to the year 423, says that "there came (to visit Symeon Stylites near Antioch) many who dwelt in the extreme West, Spaniards, Britons and Gauls."[6]

Pelagius.

At the beginning of the fifth century Pelagius,[7] whom Jerome[8] calls "that big dog of Albion," and to whom Augustine refers as "the Briton,"[9] propounded his doctrine of free will which involved a denial of "original sin." Dr. Bright says of him, "It is right

[1] Athanasius *Ep. ad Jovian* 2.

[2] See Bright, *Early Eng. Ch. Hist.* p. 13.

[3] Chrysostom, *Quod Christus sit Deus* 12: *Hom. in Princip.* Act. iii. 1.

[4] Jerome *Ep.* 146, 1: 46, 10: 58, 3.

[5] "Possibly on a mission to quell Arianism like that of Germanus to quell Pelagianism." H. and Stubbs, vol. ii. Pt. i. p. xxi.

[6] Theodoret, *Philoth.* xxvi.: see Haddan and Stubbs i. 4.

[7] The word pelagius, "of the sea," has by some been identified with the Welsh word Morgan, which has the same meaning. Bury suggests that Pelagius was an Irishman and that his name = Muirchu, *i.e.* "horned of the sea." See Hermathena, xxx. p. 26 ff.

[8] Jerome *in Jerem.* i. 3 præf.

[9] Augustine, *Ep.* 186, 1.

to remember that he had in his own way a zeal for God, a grave indignation against the inertness of many professing Christians who pleaded their weakness as an excuse for not striving after sanctity." [1] The controversy raised by Pelagius does not come within the scope of our subject except in so far as it affected the further evangelization of Britain. Pelagius himself left Britain in early life and apparently did not return. His doctrine was spread in Britain by Agricola the son of a British bishop named Severianus who, according to Bede, "foully stained with pollution the faith of the Britons." [2]

In 429 two bishops from Gaul, Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes, were sent over to Britain "to confirm the belief in celestial grace." Germanus and Lupus.

"The malevolent force of demons, who grudged that such and so great men should proceed to recover the salvation of the peoples," [3] raised a storm in the English Channel which was quelled by the prayers of Germanus, and on their arrival in England "they preached in churches and even in streets and fields and in the open country." [4]

A number of miracles are alleged by Constantius, the biographer of Germanus, to have accompanied their preaching, which was extended to Wales,[5] and

[1] *Early Eng. Ch. Hist.* p. 15.

[2] *Hist. Eccl.* i. 17. Prosper of Aquitaine thus describes the teaching of Pelagius,

Dogma quod antiqui satiatum felle draconis,
Pestifero vomuit coluber sermone Britannus.

(*Chron.* i. 399). Referring to the introduction of Pelagianism into Britain, he writes, Agricola Pelagianus, Severiani Pelagiani episcopi ecclesias, Britanniæ dogmatis sui insinuatione corrupit (id. p. 400 f.)

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid. See also *Life of Germanus* by Constantius i. 23.

[5] For a reference to the 'Alleluia victory' won by Germanus in Wales see p. 153. There are two churches in

perhaps to Cornwall. Germanus paid a second visit to Britain in 447, and in the following year, according to Bede, "he migrated to Christ."

The Saxon invasions.

In 409 the last of the Roman troops left Britain and the bishops were left to defend themselves as best they could against their Saxon invaders. The Saxon pirates, to quote the language of a contemporary Gallic bishop, were "the most truculent of all enemies" and made it a point of religion "to torture their captives rather than to put them to ransom" and to sacrifice the tenth part of them to their gods.[1]

Massacres of British Christians.

About the middle of the fifth century the Saxon raids developed into a regular plan of conquest. To quote the description of Bede, which is founded on that given by Gildas: "The impious victor . . . continued depopulating all the . . . cities and fields from the Eastern sea to the Western, with no one to oppose the conflagration, and overran almost all the surface of the perishing island. . . . Everywhere priests were slain among the altars; the prelates and the people, without any regard to rank, were destroyed by fire and sword, nor were there any to give sepulture to those who were cruelly slain. Some of the miserable remnant were caught and slaughtered in heaps upon the mountains, others, outworn by famine, came forth and surrendered themselves to the enemy for the sake

Glamorganshire dedicated to Lupus under the Welsh name of Bleiddian (wolf cub), and there are churches dedicated to Germanus both in Wales and Cornwall. A missa of S. Germanus quoted by Haddan and Stubbs i. 696, states that Germanus sent by Pope Gregory shone forth as a lantern and pillar to Cornwall, and bloomed like roses and lilies in the meadow of the church of Aledh (St. German's). The Abbey of Selby in Yorkshire was also dedicated to him and claimed to possess one of his figures.

[1] Sidonius Apollinaris *Ep.* viii. 6; see Milman's *Latin Christianity*, i. 332.

of receiving supplies of sustenance, dooming themselves to undergo perpetual slavery if they were not immediately slaughtered; others in grief sought countries beyond the sea, others abiding in their own country led in fear a miserable life among the mountains, or woods, or lofty rocks with minds always full of mistrust."[1] If this description be accepted as true, it seems hard on the Christian Britons that Bede should go on to urge it as a ground of reproach that "they never committed the word of the faith by preaching to the nation of Saxons or Angles inhabiting Britain together with themselves."[2]

How great were the prejudices which British missionaries would have had to overcome in any attempts that they might have made to evangelize the Saxons may be inferred from the words of Aldhelm of Malmesbury, written soon after 700. He writes: "The people on the other side the Severn had such a horror of communication with the West Saxon Christians that they would not pray in the same church with them, or sit at the same table. If a Saxon left anything at a meal, the Briton threw it to dogs and swine. Before a Briton would condescend to use a dish or a bottle that had been used by a Saxon it must be rubbed with sand or purified with fire. The Briton would not give the Saxon the salutation or the kiss of peace. If a Saxon went to live across the Severn, the Britons would hold no communication with him till he had been made to endure a penance of forty days." If these were the feelings entertained by the Britons towards the Saxons after the latter had become Christians, we can

British hatred of Saxons.

[1] *Hist. Eccl.* i. 15. [2] Id. i. 22.

imagine what they would have felt towards those of them who were still heathen.

Fastidius on the missionary obligation.

Fastidius, a British bishop who wrote between 420 and 450, at least recognized the obligation of those who were Christians to commend their faith to the heathen by their lives. Thus he wrote: "It is the will of God that His people should be holy, and free from all stain of unrighteousness and iniquity, that they should be so righteous, so pious, so pure, so unspotted, so single-hearted, that the heathen should find in them no fault, but should say in wonder, Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord, and the people whom He hath chosen for His own inheritance."[1] Referring to the importance of right action, as compared with right thinking, he wrote, in words which compare favourably with much that was then being written elsewhere, "We should understand that men are to be condemned not because of unbelief but because of lack of good works" . . . "unless a man is just he hath no life" . . . "let no one judge himself to be a Christian who does not follow the teaching of Christ, and imitate His example."[2]

Amongst the signatures of those present at the Council of Tours in 461 occur the words, "I, Mansuetus, bishop of the Britons was present and subscribed." He was probably a bishop in Brittany.[3]

Capture of London, 568.

London was captured by the Saxons about 568 and Theonus its bishop, taking with him those of the clergy who had survived, retired to Wales. Thadioc, bishop of York, fled at about the same time.

[1] Fastidius, *De vita Christiana*, cap. ix.; see Migne *P. L. L.* col. 383 ff.

[2] Id. cap. xiii., xiv.

[3] See Labb. iv. 1053; also H. and S. vol. ii. Pt. i. p. 72 f.

If the description given by Gildas of the character of the British clergy during the latter part of the sixth century contains any large measure of truth, there is little reason for surprise that the Britons failed to act as missionaries to the Saxons. Gildas *re* British clergy.

Writing in rhetorical and probably exaggerated language, he gives a mournful account of the character of the clergy working both in England and Wales. He says "Britain hath priests, but they are unwise: very many that minister, but they are impudent: clerks it hath, but they are deceitful raveners: pastors, as they are called, but rather wolves prepared for the slaughter of souls, for they provide not for the good of the common people, but covet rather the gluttony of their own bellies, possessing the houses of the church, but obtaining them for filthy lucre's sake: instructing the laity, but showing withal most depraved examples, vices and evil manners."[1] From this period of calamity and strife there has come down to us "shining through a golden mist of fable" the name of Arthur, who, according to the tradition[2] embodied in the "Idylls of the King," did much "to break the heathen and uphold the Christ." In the fight on Badon Hill, according to a Welsh legend, "Arthur bore the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ three days and three nights on his shoulders, and the Britons were conquerors."[3] This battle, the King Arthur.

[1] *Epistola* c. 66. Migne *P. L.* lxix. Gildas, the author of *De excidio Britanniæ* and of an *Epistle addressed to the Britons*, was born about 516 and died about 570. The first life of him was written by a monk of Ruys in the 10th or 11th century and a later life by Caradoc of Llancarvan in the 12th century. Neither can be regarded as historical; see H. and Stubbs, i. p. 156.

[2] Arthur is known to history as a petty prince in Devonshire. The modern conception of him first appears in the writings of Nennius in the 9th century.

[3] *Annales Cambriæ* An. 516.

scene of which is probably to be placed in Dorset, took place about 520, and checked the advance of the English for several years.

Export of slaves from Britain.

Evidence is available from several sources to show that at the end of the sixth century Jewish slave-dealers were in the habit of selling in Italy and elsewhere slaves obtained from Gaul or Britain. In a letter which Gregory wrote to a priest in Gaul named Candidus in 595, he bids him to spend some money due to himself in redeeming English slaves who might afterwards be trained to become monks. He further expresses a wish that these youths should be sent to Rome accompanied by a priest who was to baptize them in case they became ill and were likely to die.[1] The well-known fact of the existence of this trade may possibly have given rise to the story of the English boys who are said to have attracted the attention of Gregory in the market-place at Rome. The monk of Whitby in his *Life of Gregory* is perhaps the earliest authority for the story. He writes that it was reported among the faithful that whilst Benedict was Pope there arrived at Rome certain "of our nation, with fair complexions and flaxen hair," whom, when Gregory heard of them, he expressed a desire to see. On seeing them he asked to what nation they belonged and being told that they were Angli, he remarked "Angeli Dei" (angels of God). In reply to his enquiry "Who is your king?" they said "Aelli," whereupon he replied "Alleluia, laus enim Dei esse debet illic" (Alleluia, for the praise of God ought to be heard there). Lastly he enquired to what tribe they belonged and receiving the answer

Gregory and the English boys.

[1] *Ep.* vi. 7. Migne lxxvii. col. 799.

"Deire," he said, "De ira Dei confugientes ad fidem" (fleeing from the wrath of God to the faith). Gregory then asked and obtained Benedict's permission to go as a missionary to England, but, as soon as he had started on his journey, the people of Rome clamoured for his return and messengers were sent to recall him. Paul the Deacon and Bede tell the same story but with chronological and other variations.[1] In Bede's story the boys are described as slaves. The Canterbury monk Thorn adds that they were three in number.[2] The fact that in Gregory's letters he always refers to the English people as Angles and never as Saxons suggests that those whom he had seen in Rome had come from North Britain and were perhaps the results of a war between Northumbria and Kent.[3]

Sources of information.

For the mission of St. Augustine to England our chief source of information is Bede's *History*, which was written not later than 731, that is about 130 years after the time of Augustine. This is the earliest formal narrative, but the letters of Pope Gregory are of greater historical value as they provide a contemporary record of the events to which they refer. Later authorities are the three monks of Canterbury, Goscelin[4] (*d.* 1098), William Thorn[5] (*circ.* 1397), and Thomas Elmham[5]

[1] The Whitby monk puts the incident in the time of Benedict I., when Gregory was the Prefect of Rome. Paul the Deacon puts it in the time of Pope Pelagius.

[2] Hauck (in the *Realencyclopädie* i. p. 520) and Bassenge (*Die Sendung Augustins*, p. 17) suggest that the story of these slave boys is unhistorical and was suggested by Gregory's letter to Candidus referred to above regarding the purchase of English boys to be trained as Christians.

[3] See *Augustine the Missionary*, Howorth, p. 14.

[4] His life is included in the *Acta Sanctorum* for May 26.

[5] Goscelin, Thorn and Elmham were all inmates of St. Augustine's monastery. Thorn derived much of his information from the *Chronicle* of Sprott which is lost. Elmham adds little to the information given by Thorn.

(1414). The traditions preserved by these later writers can, however, only be received with the greatest caution.

It is interesting to recall the fact that the sending forth of Augustine occurred only three years after the siege of Rome by the Lombards and at a time when these were still engaged in ravaging Tuscany and Umbria. It must have required a large measure of faith to plan so distant a spiritual campaign whilst war was raging near to the walls of Rome. Moreover to reach Gaul on his way to Britain Augustine and his companions must have traversed districts recently devastated by the Lombards.

St. Augustine.

Augustine, before his selection by Pope Gregory as the leader of the mission to Britain, had been Prior of St. Andrew's monastery on the Cœlian hill in Rome, and his companions were monks from the same monastery. Leaving Rome in the spring of 596 they apparently went by sea to Lerins, and thence, *via* Marseilles, to Aix. Here, says Bede, "they were seized with a sluggish fear and began to think of returning home, rather than proceed to a barbarous, fierce, and unbelieving nation, to whose very language they were strangers, and this with one consent they decided to be the safer course."[1] They accordingly sent back Augustine to Rome that "he might by humble entreaty obtain of the holy Gregory that they should not be compelled to undertake so perilous, laborious and uncertain a journey."[2]

Gregory's letter to Augustine.

The letter which Gregory wrote to them in reply is worthy of a place in missionary annals. It reads:

[1] *Hist. Eccl.* i. 23. [2] Id.

"Gregory the servant of the servants of God to the servants of our Lord. Forasmuch as it had been better not to begin good things, than when they are begun to entertain the thought of retiring from them; it behoves you, my most beloved sons, to accomplish the good work which, by the help of the Lord, ye have undertaken. Let not therefore the toil of the journey, nor the tongues of evil-speaking men, deter you, but with all earnestness and zeal perform that which by God's direction ye have undertaken, knowing that great labour will be followed by the greater glory of an eternal reward. . . . May Almighty God protect you with His grace and grant that in the heavenly country I may see the fruit of your labour; inasmuch as, though I cannot labour with you, I shall partake in the joy of the reward, because I desire to labour."[1] This letter, which Augustine took back to his companions, helped to revive their courage and they proceeded once more on their way.

Journey to Britain resumed.

One of the letters of introduction which Augustine brought with him from Rome was addressed to Queen Brunhild at Orleans. From this letter of Gregory we gather that the English people prior to the time of Augustine were anxious to be converted and that applications for help had been made in vain to neighbouring priests.[2]

The desire to which Gregory refers was probably created by the presence of Bishop Liudhard, who had come over from Gaul as chaplain to Bertha on the occasion of her marriage with King Ethelbert. This

Bishop Liudhard and Q. Bertha.

[1] *Ep.* vi. 51. Migne *P. L.* lxxvii. col. 836.

[2] *Ep.* vi. 59. Migne *P. L.* lxxvii. col. 842 f.

marriage apparently occurred some considerable time before 597, as Gregory in his subsequent letter to Bertha (601), after congratulating her on the conversion of her husband, remarks that she ought "some time ago" to have bent his mind in the direction of the Christian faith.[1]

The authority of the "most powerful" King Ethelbert extended, according to Bede, as far north as the Humber, his principal residence being at Canterbury (Durovernum).

Arrival of missionaries in Britain.

The missionaries having spent the winter of 596 in France, landed soon after Easter 597 in the "Island of Thanet," probably at or near Richborough.[2] The forty members of their party included some interpreters whom they had obtained in France. Having sent forward to King Ethelbert one of these interpreters to tell him of the "joyful message" which they had brought, they were ordered by him to remain where they were. Some days later the King came to see them. The interview took place in the open air as the King feared lest, in the event of his entering a house, "if they possessed any magical powers, they might deceive and so overcome him." After hearing their message the King replied, "Your words and promises

Interview with Ethelbert.

[1] *Ep.* xi. 29. H. and Stubbs p. 17. Howorth (*St. Aug. of C.* p. 39 f.) and Hauck (*Real Ency.* i. 520) argue that the marriage had but recently taken place. Bp. Collins maintained that it took place between 571 and 573 (*The Beginnings of Eng. Christianity*, p. 180).

[2] A commemorative cross has been erected near Ebbsfleet, but the evidence for this site is comparatively modern. See Howorth, p. 60. Bp. Collins suggests that Augustine landed at Richborough and that this was then an island at high tide and accounted to be part of Thanet. (*The Beginnings of Eng. Christianity*, p. 182.) For a detailed discussion of the evidence available relating to the spot at which St. Augustine landed see Dissertation by T. M. Hughes in Mason's *The Mission of St. Augustine*, pp. 209-234.

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are fair, but as they are new and uncertain I cannot, in order to assent to them, abandon the customs which, together with the whole English nation, I have for so long a time observed; but because ye have come hither from afar, and as I clearly perceive desire to impart to us those things which ye believe to be true and excellent, we will not molest you but give you kindly entertainment . . . nor do we forbid you to gain as many as ye can to a belief in your religion by your preaching."[1] In response to the invitation of the King, Augustine and his companions proceeded to Canterbury, distant about ten miles, and entered it by the road that passes St. Martin's Church, which had perhaps been built by Bishop Liudhard and which was now placed at their disposal.[2] As the procession entered Canterbury carrying a silver cross as a standard and a picture of our Saviour "painted on a panel," the monks chanted the words, "We beseech Thee, O Lord, in all Thy compassion that Thy wrath and Thine anger may be turned away from this city and from Thy holy House, for we have sinned. Alleluia."[3] Soon after their establishment on the site of what afterwards became St. Augustine's monastery their teaching, and still more their prayers and self-denying life, began to produce results. Thus Bede writes: "Several believed and were baptized, admiring the simplicity of their innocent life and the sweetness of their heavenly doctrine."[4] Nor was it long before the king professed a desire to be baptized, his conversion having probably been hastened by the influence exerted upon him by

Arrival at Canterbury.

Baptism of Ethelbert.

[1] Bede i. 25.

[2] Howorth suggests that their taking immediate possession of the church points to the fact that Bishop Liudhard was already dead.

[3] Bede i. 25.

[4] Id. i. 26.

his wife.[1] As the result of his baptism "greater numbers began daily to come together to hear the word and, forsaking their heathen rites, to join themselves by believing to the unity of the holy Church of Christ." Then follows a statement which distinguishes the action of Ethelbert from that of almost every other royal convert in Europe. "Their conversion," writes Bede, "the King is said to have encouraged, but so far only that he compelled no one to embrace Christianity, but only embraced with a closer affection those who believed in being heirs with himself of the heavenly kingdom. For he had learned from his instructors and those who were the instruments of his salvation that the service of Christ ought to be voluntary and not compulsory."[2] How different would have been the subsequent religious history of the continent of Europe had the principles enunciated in these words been generally accepted and followed.

Consecration of Augustine.

In the autumn of 597, *i.e.* soon after the baptism of Ethelbert, Augustine applied for consecration to the representatives of the Gallic Church and was consecrated a bishop at Arles on November 16. His return to England soon afterwards was followed by the baptism of a large number of King Ethelbert's subjects. Thus

Letter to Eulogius.

Gregory writing to Eulogius the patriarch of Alexandria in July 598, and referring, no doubt, to reports sent to him by Augustine, says "While the nation of the Anglians placed in a corner of the world, has hitherto remained in unbelief, worshipping stocks and stones, I determined (it was God who prompted me), by the aid

[1] Bassenge maintains that the baptism of Ethelbert was as late as 601 or 602. For argument in favour of an earlier date see *The Mission of St. Augustine* by Mason, p. 189 ff.

[2] Bede i. 26.

of your prayers, to send to it a monk of my own monastery for the purpose of preaching, and he having by my leave, been made a bishop by the bishops of Germany,[1] has proceeded also with their encouragement to the end of the world, to the aforesaid nation. . . . Moreover at the solemnity of the Lord's Nativity . . . more than ten thousand Anglians are reported to have been baptized by the same our brother and fellow-bishop." [2] According to Goscelin, who wrote in the eleventh century, these baptisms took place in the River Swale.[3]

10,000 converts.

In 598 Augustine sent a letter to Gregory asking him for advice relating to liturgical questions, and the laws concerning marriage and other matters.[4] Together with his reply, which was dated June 22, 601,[5] Gregory sent as additional workers Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus and Rufinianus, who became respectively bishops of London, Rochester and York, and abbot of St. Augustine's monastery.

Augustine's questions.

From a missionary standpoint the most important of the pronouncements contained in Gregory's letter relates to the question, How far is it lawful to frame a new form of liturgy with a view to meeting the needs of a race or country which has come to constitute a new Branch of the Christian Church? This is a ques-

Gregory's replies.

[1] Arles was in the province of the Burgundians, who were of Germanic origin.

[2] *Epp.* viii. 29 or 30.

[3] It is possible that Goscelin is confusing these baptisms with those which Bede describes as taking place in the R. Swale in Yorkshire after the preaching of Paulinus. See Bede, ii. 14.

[4] The answers to Augustine's questions are regarded as spurious by Duchesne (*Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 94), but nearly all other authorities have accepted them as genuine. For evidence in support of their genuineness see *The Mission of St. Augustine* by Mason, vi.-ix.

[5] The long delay is apparently to be attributed to the illness of Gregory.

tion which has been raised, and which urgently needs to be answered, in many parts of the mission-field to-day. We can imagine no more satisfactory statement of the underlying principle that must determine the answer to be given in any individual case than that enunciated by Gregory. After saying that "Things are not to be cherished for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things," he wrote, "From all the several Churches, therefore, select the things which are pious and religious and right, and gather them as it were into a bundle and store them in the mind of the English to form a Use." [1]

An Anglican liturgy.

Although Augustine did not avail himself to any great extent of the liberty which was offered to him, the authoritative statement that such liberty is appropriate to a church which had come newly into existence is of great significance.

Augustine's questions as a whole have no special interest from a missionary standpoint. "They illustrate," says Dr. Bright, "his monkish inexperience of pastoral administration, and also, perhaps, indicate a certain want of elevation of character: . . . some of them give the notion of a mind cramped by long seclusion and somewhat helpless when set to act in a wide sphere. Other questions may occur to us, as naturally arising in presence of spiritual interests and requirements so vast and so absorbing, but Augustine does not propound them. One feels a sort of chill, a sensation akin to disappointment in reading of his 'difficulties.'" [2]

In a later letter addressed to Mellitus in 601 Gregory

[1] *Epp.* i. 43.

[2] *Early Eng. Ch. Hist.* p. 66.

enunciates a principle of far-reaching importance from a missionary standpoint. He writes: "When Almighty God shall bring you to our most reverend brother Bishop Augustine, tell him what I have long been turning over in my thoughts in regard to the English, namely that the temples of the idols in that nation ought by no means to be destroyed, but let the idols that are in them be destroyed; let holy water be made and sprinkled in these temples, let altars be made and relics placed there. For if these temples have been well built they ought to be converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God, so that the nation seeing that its temples are not destroyed may remove error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God may the more familiarly resort to the places to which they have been accustomed. And because they are accustomed to kill many oxen in sacrificing to demons, some solemnity must be given them in exchange on this account;—say that on the day of dedication or birthday (*i.e.* death) of holy martyrs whose relics are there deposited they may make for themselves huts out of the boughs of trees around those churches which have been transformed from temples, and may celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting: while they no longer offer beasts to the devil, they may kill them to the praise of God for their own eating . . . to the end that whilst some pleasures are outwardly permitted them, they may the more easily consent to the inward (divine) pleasures. For there is no doubt that it is impossible to efface everything at once from their obdurate minds, for the man who strives to ascend to the highest place rises by degrees or steps

Idol temples not to be destroyed.

Retention of heathen festivals.

and not by leaps."[1] The question which Gregory here discusses, viz. How far heathen customs and usages may be retained in order to facilitate the acceptance of the Christian religion by pagans, is one of the most difficult that missionaries in all ages have been called on to answer. Experience has shown that the right answer to give in any particular case must depend upon many different circumstances, and in particular upon the depth of the conviction which characterizes the converts from paganism in any given district or country.[2]

More bishops to be consecrated.

In a letter dated June 22, 601, Gregory suggests to Augustine that he should consecrate a bishop of York who should become an archbishop with twelve suffragans, whilst he, Augustine, should be Archbishop of London. He further suggests that after the death of Augustine the Archbishops of London and York should take precedence according to the dates of their ordination. It is interesting to note that London, not Canterbury, was intended by Gregory to be the seat of the archbishop of the Southern Province.

Conference with British bishops.

In 602 or 603, "with the assistance of Ethelbert," Augustine brought about a conference between himself and some British bishops and others which met at

[1] Bede i. 30.

[2] St. Patrick appears to have held views similar to those propounded by Gregory. Thus Stokes writes: "The Irish believed that St. Patrick, finding three pillar stones which were connected with Irish paganism, did not overthrow them, but inscribed on them the names 'Jesus, Soter, Salvator'" (*Tripartite Life* i. 107). Columba is said to have blessed and made holy a Pictish well that had previously been associated with idolatry (*Vita Adamn.* vol. ii. 11).

In a letter bearing the same date addressed to King Ethelbert (Bede i. 32) Gregory exhorts the king to overthrow the structures of the idol temples. It is possible this letter was written earlier than that to Augustine, or Gregory may be here referring to some special temples and not enunciating a general rule as in the letter to Mellitus.

Augustine's oak, the site of which is uncertain.[1] A first conference which was unproductive of result was followed by a second at which seven Welsh bishops were present, who were not diocesan bishops but representatives from some of the principal monasteries. According to Bede the Welsh representatives who had been selected to attend the second conference "repaired first to a certain holy and prudent man, who was wont to live the life of a hermit amongst them, to consult with him whether at the preaching of Augustine they ought to abandon their own traditions. He replied: 'If he is a man of God, follow him.' 'And how can we prove this?' they said. He answered, 'The Lord says, "Take my yoke upon you and learn of me for I am meek and lowly in heart."' If then Augustine is meek and lowly in heart, it is to be believed that he himself bears the yoke of Christ and that he offers it to you to bear. But if he is harsh and proud it is evident that he is not of God and what he says is not to be regarded by you.' 'And how shall we discern this?' they said again. 'Contrive,' he said, 'that he may arrive first at the place of the synod and if, when you approach, he rise up to meet you, listen to him submissively knowing that he is a servant of Christ; if on the other hand he despise you and is unwilling to rise in your presence though you are more in number, let him also be despised by you.'"[2] Augustine's failure to rise on the approach of the Welsh bishops helped, according to Bede, to account for the refusal of the Welsh to accept Augustine's demands.

[1] It has frequently been identified with Aust on the Severn, opposite Chepstow. Bp. Browne argues in favour of "The Oak" in Down Ampney near Cricklade.

[2] Bede ii. 2.

The chief representative of the Welsh appears to have been Dinoot, the abbot of Bangor. The discussions which ensued related to the keeping of Easter and methods of tonsure and have no direct interest for the student of Missions. It is true that, according to Bede, one of the objects of the conference was to render possible a common effort on the part of the Britons and Saxons to evangelize the heathen, but it does not appear that this object was discussed, and the offer to join in a united missionary campaign was made conditional upon the acceptance by the Britons of Augustine's authority. When the Welsh representatives finally refused to recognize Augustine as archbishop, or to accept his demands for a change in their ecclesiastical customs, he withdrew to Canterbury. Before doing so, says Bede, "the man of God, Augustine, is said in a threatening manner to have predicted that if they would not accept peace with their brethren they should accept war at the hands of their enemies, and if they were unwilling to preach the word of life to the English nation they should suffer vengeance of death by their hands."[1] This prophecy, says Bede, was fulfilled by the massacre (*circ.* 616) of 1200 monks belonging to the monastery of Bangor.

Consecration of Mellitus and Justus.

In 604 "Augustine ordained two bishops, Mellitus and Justus, to preach to the province of the East Saxons who are divided from Kent by the river Thames and border on the Eastern Sea. . . . When this province," continues Bede, "also received the word of truth by the preaching of Mellitus, King Ethelbert built the church of St. Paul in the city of London where he and

[1] Bede ii. 2.

his successors should have their episcopal see. As for Justus, Augustine ordained him bishop in Kent at the city which the English nation named Hrofaecaestir (Rochester) from one that was formerly the chief man of it called Hrof."[1]

Augustine died on May 26, 604,[2] having previously consecrated Laurentius as his successor. Death of Augustine.

Although the name of St. Augustine will always be had in honour as that of the missionary by whose labours the first effective Mission to the Saxons was inaugurated, a dispassionate examination of his character and work forces us to admit that he was a man who possessed few of the qualifications of which the ideal missionary has need. Three of the qualifications necessary for a successful missionary are, power of initiation, courage and humility. His lack of the first is illustrated by the fact that his missionary campaign was undertaken not on his own initiative, but at the instigation and command of a superior authority, and by his letter (the only writing of his which has been preserved) in which he virtually admits his inability to decide comparatively trivial points such as all pioneer missionaries are called upon to decide. His lack of courage is shown by the desire which he evinced to abandon the enterprise altogether when the difficulties and dangers which it would involve had become apparent. His last and greatest weakness, viz. a lack of humility and of power to sympathize with those who disagreed with his opinions, is shown by his treatment of the Welsh bishops and His character and work.

[1] Bede ii. 3.

[2] So Haddan and Stubbs. Bright gives 605 as the probable year. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* gives 614, an impossible date.

his failure to establish any working agreement with them.

Sir Henry Howorth writes: "The best that can be said of Augustine is that he was a commonplace man, with good motives and high standards, set to do a work much beyond his capacity and for which he had had a very indifferent training. The Church which he planted was a plant with a feeble constitution from the first, and it needed a more vigorous personage, who was also a greater scholar and a bigger man, to set it going again on a more promising journey. He presently came and his name was Theodore."[1] Whilst, however, we are constrained to admit that Augustine lacked important missionary qualifications, we gratefully remember that he possessed the most important of all, viz. personal piety. He led a devout and self-denying life and left the remembrance of such a life as a precious heritage to the English Church.

Thomas Fuller writes concerning him, "Because the beginnings of things are of greatest consequence, we commend his pains, condemn his pride, allow his life, approve his learning, admire his miracles, admit the foundation of his doctrine, Jesus Christ, but refuse the hay and stubble he built thereon."[2]

"Whatever were his shortcomings," says Bishop Browne, "Augustine of Canterbury was a good man, a devout and laborious Christian worker who could, and did, face threatening difficulties and accept serious risks in loyalty to a sacred call; a missionary whose daily conduct was a recommendation of his preaching, . . . who as archbishop did his duty, as he read

[1] *St. Augustine of Canterbury*, p. 197. [2] *The Church History of Britain*, i. 170.

it, with all his might, if not without mistakes or failures."

Archbishop Laurence.

Before his death Augustine had consecrated Laurence as his successor and, according to Bede, he "having obtained the rank of archbishop strove both by the frequent utterance of holy exhortation and the continual example of pious labour (operatio) to extend the foundations of the church which he had seen nobly laid and to carry up its fabric to the due height."

His appeal to bishops in Ireland.

Soon after his consecration Laurence, writing in his own name and that of the two other Italian bishops, addressed an appeal to the bishops in Ireland in the hope of promoting union and co-operation. The chief point of controversy which kept the two churches apart and which prevented any combined missionary enterprise was the fixing of the date for keeping Easter.[1] How bitter were the feelings engendered by this controversy may be gathered from the statement of Archbishop Laurence concerning an Irish bishop who had come on a visit to Britain from the monastery of Bangor in Ireland. "Bishop Dagan," writes Laurence, "not only refused to eat with us, but even to take his repast in the same house where we were entertained."[2]

Death of Ethelbert, 616.

King Ethelbert died in 616 after reigning for 56 years. His son Eadbald "refused to embrace the faith of Christ" and, encouraged by his example, many of those who had professed to be Christians returned

[1] See above, p. 60.

[2] Bede ii. 4. *Cf.* Fuller. "Whilst the Britons accounted the Romans wolves, and the Romans held the Britons to be goats, what became of Christ's little flock of sheep the whiles? The best is, God, we hope, will be merciful in his sentence on men, though passionate men be merciless in their censures on one another," i. p. 174 f.

to their former idolatrous ways. To quote the words of Fuller, "those whom Æthelbyrht's smiles had made converts, Eadbald's frowns quickly made apostates."[1]

Expulsion of Mellitus.

On the death of Sabert, the Christian king of the East Saxons, his three sons openly professed idolatry, and when Mellitus refused to accede to their demand to receive "the bread of life" in the Holy Communion, they said to him, "If you will not comply with us in so small a matter as that which we ask, you cannot remain in our province": and they expelled him and commanded that he and his followers should depart from their kingdom.[2]

Extent of Augustine's influence.

There is no good evidence to show that Augustine accomplished, or even attempted, any missionary enterprise outside the limits of the present county of Kent. Thorn writing in the fourteenth century says that "he sowed the seed of God's word everywhere throughout the whole land of the English," travelling always on foot, and Goscelin in his life of Augustine represents him as working miracles at York, and as causing tails to grow on the backs of some peasants who had insulted him in Dorsetshire, and even as visiting Colman "King of Ireland" and baptizing the Irish saint Livinus, but these traditions have no historic value.

Conversion of king Eadbald.

Archbishop Laurence, although he made ready to flee to Gaul, did not carry out his intention. The explanation, given by Bede, is that on the night previous to his intended departure the Apostle Peter appeared to him and having scourged him severely demanded "why he was forsaking the flock which he had him-

[1] i. p. 175. [2] Bede ii. 5.

self entrusted to him, or to what pastor he was leaving the sheep of Christ placed as they were in the midst of wolves." [1] In the morning the archbishop appeared in the presence of the king and showed him the wounds which St. Peter had inflicted. The king "much frightened abjured the worship of idols, renounced his unlawful marriage, embraced the faith of Christ, and having been baptized strove to promote the affairs of the Church to the utmost of his power." [2]

Assuming the latter part of this story to be true, we can only suppose that the archbishop resorted to a pious fraud in order to impress the king and to induce him to abandon his idolatry.[3] Whatever was the occasion of the king's conversion, it would appear that he became from this time an ardent supporter of the Christian religion. Soon afterwards he sent to Gaul to recall Justus and Mellitus who, however, waited a year before obeying his summons. Justus eventually returned to Rochester, but "the Londoners would not receive Bishop Mellitus, choosing rather to be under their idolatrous high priests." [4] In 619 Mellitus became archbishop of Canterbury and on his death in 624 he was succeeded by Justus bishop of Rochester.

Bishop Justus at Rochester.

The East Anglians of Norfolk and Suffolk were at this time ruled by Redwald, who had visited Canterbury and had been baptized during Ethelbert's reign, but on his return home "was seduced by his wife and certain perverse teachers" and resolved to combine the worship

Redwald, king of the East Anglians.

[1] ii. 6.
[2] Id.
[3] Hook suggests that the story is the legendary exaggeration of a dream in which Laurence thought that he saw the apostle. For other legends of a similar character see Bright, p. 108 n.
[4] Bede ii. 6.

of the Christians' God with the worship of idols. Accordingly "in the same temple he had an altar to sacrifice to Christ and another small one to offer victims to devils."[1] In 617 while Edwin, an exiled Northumbrian prince, was a refugee at his court, Ethelfrid king of Northumbria endeavoured, but without success, to induce Redwald to murder him: eventually in 617 Redwald and Edwin defeated and killed Ethelfrid on the borders of Mercia near Retford, whereupon Edwin became king of Northumbria. In 625 Edwin obtained in marriage Ethelburga a sister of King Eadbald and daughter of King Ethelbert. She brought with her as her chaplain Paulinus whom Justus consecrated as a bishop, and whose "mind was wholly bent on bringing the nation to which he was going to a knowledge of the truth"; and when he came into that province he laboured much both to prevent those who had come with him from falling away from the faith and to convert some of the pagans to the faith, if by any means he could do so, by his preaching."[2] The first person to be baptized at the court of Edwin was his infant daughter Eanfled whom he "consecrated to Christ" in gratitude for his deliverance from the assassin that had been sent by the king of the West Saxons to murder him. Having defeated the West Saxons in battle, Edwin still delayed to accept the Christian faith, "and being a man of natural sagacity he often sat alone by himself for a long time, silent as to his tongue but conversing much with himself in his inmost heart, deliberating what he should do and to which religion he should adhere."[3] Bede gives two letters written

Edwin, king of Northumbria.

Paulinus.

Baptism of Eanfled.

[1] Bede ii. 15. [2] Id. ii. 9. [3] Id. *finis.*

by Pope Boniface V to Edwin and Ethelburga.[1] In the letter to the king the Pope urges upon him the folly of worshipping idols made by men's hands and exhorts him to "draw near to the knowledge" of his Creator and Redeemer. In the letter to the queen he says that his "fatherly charity, having earnestly enquired" concerning her husband, has ascertained that he still "serves abominable idols and has delayed to give ear or to yield obedience to the voice of the preachers." He urges her to give herself continually to prayer and to "soften the hardness of his heart" by her teaching and exhortations.

Boniface's letters to Edwin.

Paulinus having recalled to the king a promise which he had made when a refugee at the court of Redwald, he agreed to submit the question of the adoption of Christianity to a meeting of his wise men. The meeting, or council, which is graphically described by Bede, took place in 626, or early in 627, at Goodmanham, about 23 miles from York. The speech of the chief pagan priest Coifi was to the point, though it contained no altruistic sentiments. He said: "The religion which we have hitherto professed has, as far as I can learn, no virtue in it. For none of your people has applied himself more diligently to the worship of our gods than I, nevertheless there are many who receive greater favours from you . . . and are more prosperous in all their undertakings. Now if the gods had any power they would be more willing to help me who have been careful to serve them." His speech was followed by one that has often been quoted, and the

Edwin decides to become a Christian.

Speech of Coifi.

[1] Bede ii. 10 and 11. Bright suggests that the writer of these letters was Honorius the successor of Boniface. *Early Eng. Hist.* p. 119 n.

pathos of which helps us to appreciate the sadness of a religion that has no outlook beyond the grave. The second speaker said: "It seems to me, O King, that the present life of man upon earth, when compared with the time of which we know nothing, is like the swift flight of a sparrow through a room wherein you sit at supper in winter with your chiefs and servants, and with a fire kindled in the midst, whilst the winter storms of rain and snow rage without: like the sparrow, I say, which comes in at one door and forthwith goes out at another. As long as he is within he is safe from the winter's storm, nevertheless when the very brief space of calm has ended he soon vanishes from your sight, returning to the (dark) winter from which he had emerged. So this life of man appears for a short space, but of what is to follow and what has preceded it we are altogether ignorant. If therefore this new doctrine has brought any more certain knowledge, it seems justly to deserve to be followed."[1]

Man's life like the flight of a sparrow.

Others of the king's counsellors and Paulinus having spoken, Coifi said, "I advise, O King, that we speedily abjure and set fire to the temples and altars which we have hallowed without receiving any benefit therefrom." The king thereupon proceeded to announce that he had himself "received the faith of Christ" and that permission to preach the Gospel was granted to Paulinus. Coifi then volunteered, if the king would provide him with arms and a stallion,[2] to superintend the destruction of the temples and idols. "Having

Destruction of heathen temples.

[1] Id. ii. 13.

[2] It was considered unlawful for a high priest (pontifex) to ride on any but a mare or to carry arms.

therefore girt a sword about him, with a spear in his hand he mounted the King's stallion and proceeded to the idols. The multitude beholding it thought that he was insane, but he delayed not and as soon as he drew near to the temple he profaned it by casting into it the spear which he held, and, rejoicing greatly in the knowledge of the worship of the true God, he commanded his companions to destroy and burn down the temple together with all its enclosures."[1] The king with all his nobles and a large number of his people were baptized on Easter Day, April 12, 627, in the wooden church of St. Peter at York.[2] Bede continues, "Paulinus for the space of six years, that is till the end of the reign of that king, by his consent and favour, preached the word of God in that country. . . . So great then is said to have been the fervour of the faith and the desire for the washing of salvation among the nation of the Northumbrians that at one time when Paulinus came with the king and queen to a royal seat called Adgefrin[3] he stayed there with them for 36 days fully occupied with the work of catechizing and baptizing, during which days from morning till night he did nothing else than instruct the people, who resorted to him from all villages and places, in the saving word of Christ, and when instructed he washed them in the water of absolution in the river Glen[4] which was near at hand."[5] He baptized others in the River Swale near the village of Cataract.[6]

Baptism of Edwin.

[1] Id. ii. 13.

[2] Nennius states that Edwin and 12,000 of his men were baptized by a British priest named Run, but it is most unlikely that this was the case. See H. and Stubbs i. p. 124.

[3] *i.e.* Yeverin near Wooler in Northumberland.

[4] *i.e.* Bowmont Water, a tributary of the R. Till.

[5] Bede ii. 14.

[6] *i.e.* Catterick in Yorkshire.

Heathen reaction.

The superficial character of these conversions was made clear when, after the death of Edwin in 633, very many abandoned the profession of their new faith.

Peace re-established by Edwin.

The realm over which Edwin ruled extended from the Humber to the Forth[1] and his influence was paramount throughout the whole of England outside the kingdom of Kent. The peace, moreover, which he established was so secure that it was said that "a woman with her newborn babe might walk throughout the island from sea to sea without receiving any harm."[2] But whilst the conditions for extending missionary enterprise were for the time being ideal, the number of missionaries was unfortunately small. During the six years of his episcopate in Northumbria Paulinus (*circ.* 628) "preached the word to the province of Lindsey," that is to the northernmost section of the county of Lincoln in which the city of Lincoln is situated, and in the stone church which he built at Lincoln[3] he consecrated Honorius to succeed Justus as archbishop of Canterbury. If the city of Tiovulfingacestir, mentioned in Bede's account, be identified with Southwell,[4] it would appear that he also visited Nottinghamshire. At this place in the presence of King Edwin he baptized a great number of people.

Paulinus in Lincolnshire.

Conversion and death of Eorpwald in East Anglia.

Redwald the king of East Anglia who had befriended Edwin when an exile, and had sought to combine the acceptance of the Christian faith with the worship of idols, was succeeded in 617 by his son Eorpwald, who

[1] Edinburgh = Edwin's burgh.

[2] Bede ii. 16.

[3] The church of St. Paul in Lincoln now occupies this site.

[4] It has also been identified with Littleborough, and with Torksey.

was persuaded by Edwin "to abandon his idolatrous superstitions and with his province to receive the faith and sacraments of Christ."[1] The pagan party, however, raised a strenuous opposition and Eorpwald was murdered by a pagan named Richbert. Three years later Eorpwald's half-brother Sigebert became king. According to Bede he was "a most Christian and learned man" who during his exile in Gaul was admitted to the sacraments of the faith, whereof, when soon afterwards he began to reign, he made it his business to call all his province to partake. About this time there arrived providentially in East Anglia a missionary bishop named Felix,[2] who had come to Britain from Burgundy and had been sent by Honorius of Canterbury to preach in East Anglia. This "pious cultivator of the spiritual field reaped therein a large harvest of believers, delivering all that province, in accordance with the meaning of his name (Felix) from long iniquity and infelicity, and bringing it to the faith and works of righteousness and the gifts of perpetual felicity."[3] Sigebert endeavoured to imitate the schools which he had seen in France and, with the aid of Felix and of teachers whom he obtained either from Kent or Burgundy, he established schools at Dunwich[4] and at other centres.[5]

King Sigebert.

Bishop Felix.

[1] Bede ii. 15.

[2] Felixstowe (the dwelling of Felix) in Suffolk was apparently named after him. It would seem that Felix had been consecrated as a bishop before he came to England. See *The Conversion of the Heptarchy*. Bp. Browne p. 73 f.

[3] Bede ii. 15. Bp. Browne suggests that Felix may have been one of the colony of Irish monks resident at Luxeuil in Burgundy.

[4] A town which has been submerged by the encroaching sea.

[5] Sigebert has been claimed by some as the founder of the University of Cambridge. See *The Conversion of the Heptarchy*. Bishop Browne p. 82; Fuller, i. 187 f.

St. Fursey.

During the reign of Sigebert there came from Ireland a missionary named Fursey, who, "after preaching the word of God many years in Scotland (*i.e.* Ireland), could no longer bear the crowds that resorted to him, and, leaving all that he seemed to possess, departed from his native island and came with a few brothers through the Britons into the province of the English."[1] On his arrival in East Anglia he was welcomed by the king, and there "executing his accustomed task of preaching the Gospel, by the example of his virtue and the incitement of his discourse he converted many unbelievers to Christ, or confirmed those who already believed in the faith and love of Christ."[2] On a piece of ground given to him by Sigebert at Cnobheresburg[3] he built a monastery. The king himself, says Bede, "became so great a lover of the heavenly kingdom that at length he abandoned the business of his kingdom which he committed to his kinsman Ecgric, . . . and entered a monastery which he had built, and, having received the tonsure, applied himself to strive to obtain an eternal kingdom."[4] Soon afterwards, when East Anglia was invaded by the Mercian king Penda, his people besought him to resume his duties as their king, and on his refusal dragged him from the monastery and forced him to be present at the battle (636)[5] in which he and Ecgric and many of his people were killed. Fursey retired to Gaul where he built another monastery and where he died

Sigebert enters a monastery.

[1] Bede iii. 19. Bede's account of St. Fursey is taken from an earlier biography.

[2] Id.

[3] Burgh Castle near Lowestoft.

[4] Id. iii. 18. His example was followed by Kenred of Mercia, Offa of Essex and several other princes.

[5] This is the date given by Haddan and Stubbs iii. 89.

in 647. After the death of Felix his deacon Thomas was consecrated by Honorius as bishop.

The next king, Anna, who was a cousin of Sigebert, several of whose daughters became nuns, was killed by Penda in 654. He had been the means of converting to the Christian faith Coinwalch king of Wessex who had sought refuge with him after Penda had driven him from Wessex. King Anna.

To return to the story of Northumbria: Edwin after defeating Cadwallon the king of Gwynedd, or North Wales, had driven him into Wales. In his extremity Cadwallon, although a Briton and a Christian, allied himself with Penda the king of the Mercians, who was a Saxon and a strenuous upholder of paganism. The two having attacked Edwin at Heathfield[1] in South-East Yorkshire, defeated and killed him on October 12, 633. At this time, says Bede, "a great slaughter was made in the church or nation of the Northumbrians, and the more so because one of the leaders by whom it was made was a pagan and the other, inasmuch as he was a barbarian, was worse than a pagan. For Penda with all the nation of the Mercians was devoted to idolatry and was ignorant of the Christian name, but Cadwallon, though he had the name and profession of a Christian, was so barbarous that he spared neither women nor children, but ravaged the whole country. Nor did he show any respect for the Christian religion which had sprung up amongst them."[2] The year which followed the battle of Heathfield was regarded, even at the time when Bede wrote, as "unfortunate Edwin killed at Heathfield, 633. Penda.

[1] *i.e.* Hatfield Chase near Doncaster.

[2] Bede ii. 20.

Heathen reaction in Northumbria.

and hateful to all good men." [1] Edwin's cousin Osric, who succeeded him as king in Deira, and Ethelfrid's son Eanfrid, who became king in Bernicia, both renounced their Christianity in order to win the favour of Penda, but were both killed by Cadwallon. On the death of Edwin Paulinus abandoned his diocese and fled to Canterbury, afterwards becoming bishop of Rochester, in charge of which he remained, according to Bede, "until he ascended to the celestial kingdoms with the fruit of his glorious toil." [2] Referring to the work of Paulinus Bishop Lightfoot writes: "The hasty and superficial work of Paulinus had come to nought. . . . The night of heathendom again closed over the land. The first chapter in the history of Northumbrian Christianity was ended. The Roman mission, despite all the feverish energy of its chief, had proved a failure. A sponge had passed over Northumbria, and scarce a vestige of his work remained." [3] Bishop Browne speaking of the work of Paulinus and the other Italian monks, says, "The history of the Italian Mission is a history of failure to face danger. Mellitus fled from London, and got himself safe to Gaul; Justus fled from Rochester. . . . Laurentius was packed up to fly from Canterbury and follow them; Paulinus fled from York." [4] Bede says of the first three, "it was decreed by common counsel that it would be better that all should return to their native land and serve the Lord there with a free mind than that they should reside fruitlessly among barbarians who were rebels against the faith." [5]

[1] Bede iii. 1.
[2] Id. ii. 20.
[3] *Leaders in the Northern Church*, p. 41.
[4] *The Christian Church in these islands before the coming of Augustine*, p. 7.
[5] Bk. ii. c. 5.

But although the inhabitants of Yorkshire were deprived of their Christian king and were deserted by their bishop, they did not entirely lapse into heathenism. When Paulinus retired "he left behind him in his church at York James the deacon, who, continuing long after in that church, snatched much spoil from the ancient enemy (of mankind) by teaching and baptizing. . . . He was very skilful in singing." On the death of Eanfrid his younger brother Oswald became king of Bernicia and having "advanced with an army, small, but strengthened with the faith of Christ," defeated and killed Cadwallon (634) at Heavenfield near Hexham, and established himself as king of Deira and Bernicia.

James the deacon.

King Oswald. Battle of Heavenfield, 634.

"As soon as he ascended the throne, being desirous that all his nation should receive the Christian faith, whereof he had found happy experience in vanquishing the barbarians, he sent to the elders of the Scots among whom he himself and his followers, when in banishment, had received the sacrament of baptism, desiring that they would send him a bishop."[1] The chief ecclesiastical authority in Scotland at this time was Seghine (Segenius)[2] the abbot of Hy or Icolmcille.[3] On receipt of the king's request a bishop, to whom a Scottish tradition has given the name of Corman, was despatched. He was a man "of austere disposition who, after preaching for a time to the English people and having effected nothing, the people being unwilling to listen to him, returned to his native country and reported in an assembly of the elders that he had not been able

Oswald applies to Scotland for a bishop.

Bishop Corman.

[1] Bede iii. 3.

[2] Seghine was the fourth successor of Columba.

[3] Known in later times as Iona. See p. 75 n.

to benefit in any way by his teaching the nation to which he had been sent, because they were untameable (indomabiles) and of a harsh and barbarous disposition." A similar report has on many subsequent occasions been given by those who have lacked the inexhaustible sympathy which has been the distinguishing characteristic of all the greatest missionaries. Happily for the future of Christianity in England the assembly to which Corman reported contained a man in whom the power of sympathy had been developed to a mar-

St. Aidan.

vellous degree. Aidan, according to Bede, had long been known and loved on account of his humility, his diligence in the performance of religious duties, and above all for his ability to sympathize with rich and poor, believers and unbelievers. On hearing the words of Corman, Aidan said, "It seems to me, brother, that you were more severe to your unlearned hearers than you ought to have been, and that you did not at first, in accordance with apostolic teaching, give them the milk of more easy doctrine, till, having been by degrees nourished with the word of God, they might have become able to receive that which is more perfect, and practise the more sublime precepts of God."[1] Those who were present forthwith recognized in the speaker the man fitted to accomplish the difficult task which was in view. Having been consecrated as a bishop Aidan was accordingly sent to Northumbria.

Lindisfarne.

The island of Lindisfarne, on which he fixed his residence and presently built a monastery, was probably selected by him, or by Oswald, on account of its nearness to Bamborough, which was then Oswald's principal seat.

[1] Bede iii. 5.

The site would doubtless have appeared specially attractive to Aidan on account of its resemblance to his former island home. In view of the great influence which the monastery of Lindisfarne exerted upon the conversion of England and the evolution of the English Church it would be hard to name any spot in the British Isles that is more deserving of veneration.[1]

In Oswald Aidan found an enthusiastic fellow-missionary who, as Aidan knew but little English, interpreted for him when he preached to his "commanders and ministers." "From this time," says Bede, "many from the country of the Scots began to come daily into Britain, and with great devotion preached the word of faith to those provinces of the English over which Oswald reigned, and those (among them) who had received priest's orders administered to those who believed the grace of baptism. Whereupon churches were built in several places; the people flocked together with joy to hear the word, property and lands were given of the king's bounty to build monasteries, the English, great and small, were instructed by their Scottish masters in the more important subjects of study and in the observance of regular discipline, for most of those who came to preach were monks." [2]

Spread of the Christian faith.

The character of Aidan, as drawn for us by Bede, is singularly attractive, and it is the more likely to be a true picture inasmuch as Bede was strongly pre-

Bede's description of Aidan.

[1] Alcuin of York in a letter to Ethelred king of Northumbria describes it as 'locus cunctis in Britannia venerabilior.' See H. and S. iii. 493. The succession of bishops of Lindisfarne has never since been interrupted. After Aidan there were 15 at Lindisfarne, then 7 at Chester-le-Street, and 84 at Durham.

[2] Bede iii. 3. Most of the bishops who succeeded Aidan till 1072 were monks.

judiced against several of the customs which Aidan introduced. His teaching in regard to the observance of Easter he "very much detested,"[1] nevertheless he bears ungrudging witness to "his love of peace, charity, continence and humility, his mind superior to anger and avarice and despising pride and vainglory, his industry in teaching and keeping the heavenly commandments, his diligence in reading and watchings, his authority as became a priest in reproving the haughty and powerful, and at the same time his tenderness in comforting the afflicted and relieving and defending the poor."[2]

Aidan's missionary journeys.

At Lindisfarne he lived the life of a monk and when he travelled on his missionary tours he went on foot. His clothing consisted of a thick woollen cape (cuculla) and in winter he wore a shirt (tunica) and above it a loose cloak (amphibalus). He had the Irish tonsure and his long hair flowed down behind.[3] "Wherever in the course of his journeys he saw any, whether rich or poor, he would there and then invite them, if unbelievers, to embrace the mystery of the faith, or, if they were believers, he would strengthen them in the faith and would stir them up by words and actions to almsgiving and the performance of good works."[4] His ascetic life moreover was imitated by his disciples and companions.[5] "All those who went about with

[1] Bede iii. 17.

[2] Id.

[3] See *Early Eng. Ch. Hist.* by Bright, p. 147.

[4] Bede iii. 5.

[5] The Celtic missionaries as a rule practised a rigorous asceticism and helped to give a strongly ascetic character to the Northumbrian Church. Thus Drythelm of Melrose would stand at times up to his neck in the R. Tweed reciting prayers and psalms, and would even break the ice in order to get into the river. Cuthbert is said to have done the same (see *Bædæ Opera* by Plummer,

him whether they were shorn monks or laymen, were employed in meditation, and were assiduous either in reading the Scriptures or learning psalms. This was the daily employment of himself and all that were with him, wheresoever they went, and if it happened, which was but seldom, that he was invited to eat with the king, he went with one or two clerks, and having taken a small repast, he made haste to be gone with them to read or to pray. At that time some religious men and women, stirred by his example, adopted the custom of fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year till the ninth hour except during the fifty days after Easter." [1] Aidan realized that if the Church in Northumbria was to be securely established education must form a chief part of his work, and he accordingly gathered about him in the first instance twelve boys "to be instructed in Christ." [2] The fact that these included the two brothers Chad and Cedd, the evangelists of central and southern England, and Eata, who became abbot of Melrose and afterwards bishop of Lindisfarne, suggests that he possessed a remarkable insight into character. Some of those whom he trained had previously been ransomed by him from slavery.

His efforts to promote education.

Bede attributes to him a number of miracles which are said to have been wrought by his prayers, the traditions relating to which at least show that he was regarded as a man of prayer.

His miracles.

After a reign of eight years, Oswald was killed in

i. xxx.). Of Kentigern we read: "nudum . . . se reddens aquis vehementibus et frigidis se immergebat . . . ibique in frigore et nuditate . . . totum ex integro decantabat psalterium" (see *Life of Nynias and Kentigern* by Forbes, p. 185).

[1] Bede iii. 5.

[2] iii. 26.

Oswald killed at Maserfield, 642. Oswin.

642[1] at the battle of Maserfield[2] fighting against Penda. Oswin son of Osric, who succeeded him, supported Aidan in his missionary labours, with as much zeal as Oswald had displayed. Aidan died on August 31, 651, at Bamborough. Referring to the circumstances of his death, Bede writes: "Aidan

Death of Aidan, 651.

was in the king's country house . . . at the time when death compelled him to depart from his body after being bishop for sixteen[3] years, for having a church and a chamber there, he was wont often to go and stay there and going thence to preach in the country round about, as he did also at other houses belonging to the king, having no personal possessions other than his church and some small fields near to it. When he was sick they set up a tent for him close to the wall at the west end of the church, and so it happened that he breathed his last leaning against a buttress that was placed on the outside of the church to strengthen the wall."[4]

Disputes in regard to Easter.

For the student of missions the long disputes in regard to the keeping of Easter, which culminated in 664 in the conference of Whitby, are a matter of concern in so far as they tended to divide and thereby weaken the counsels that were from time to time put forward for the evangelization of the non-Christian populations. For many years these and similar disputes rendered it difficult for the Celtic and Saxon or Roman mission-

[1] The gratitude with which subsequent generations regarded the work accomplished by Oswald is evidenced by the words of the collect appointed in the Sarum use to be said on his day. "O God, who by the passion of thy holy servant Oswald hast consecrated the gladsome and holy joy of this day . . ."

[2] Usually identified with Oswestry in Shropshire.

[3] Two of the oldest MSS. read 16 and two read 17.

[4] Bede iii. 17.

aries to co-operate, or to appreciate aright each other's work, and in many instances they gave rise to great bitterness and did much to retard the progress of missionary efforts. At the same time it is but fair to say that the disputants were not quarrelling about trifles. The issue which appeared to them to be involved was nothing less than the preservation of the unity of the Christian Church.

Celtic monks leave Lindisfarne.

When after thirty years many of the Scottish, or Irish, monks left Lindisfarne, together with their bishop Colman, it became manifest how simple and frugal had been their life. "There were houses besides the church found at their departure, no more indeed than were absolutely necessary for their daily life"[1]; they had made no attempts to entertain the rich or great, "for these never came to church except to pray and to hear the word of God." Their repasts, which were of the simplest kind, were shared by their visitors even when these included the king and his courtiers. In a passage of great interest Bede describes the attitude of the people generally towards the monks and the reception which these received when they travelled from place to place. He writes, "Wherever clergy or monks happened to come, such an one was joyfully received by all as the servant of God. And if they chanced to meet him on the way, they ran to him and, bowing their heads, were glad to be signed with his hand or blessed with his mouth. They paid great attention also to their exhortations. Moreover on Sundays they flocked eagerly to church or to the monasteries, not to refresh the body but to hear the word

Their work in Northumbria.

[1] Bede iii. 26.

of God, and if any priest happened to come into a village the villagers quickly came together, eager to hear from him the word of life, for the priests and clergy went to the villages for no other purpose than to preach, baptize, visit the sick, and, to put it briefly, to care for souls, and were so free from all plague of avarice that none of them received lands and possessions for building monasteries, unless forced to do so by the temporal authorities: and this custom was for some time afterwards generally observed in the churches of the Northumbrians."[1]

Aidan and the ministry of women.

To Aidan belongs the honour of introducing the ministry of women into the Northumbrian Church, as he consecrated Heiu,[2] the first nun and foundress of the monastery of Hartlepool. According to Bede she is said to have been the first woman in the province of the Northumbrians "to have taken upon her the purpose and the vesture of the religious life.

Bp. Lightfoot on character of Aidan.

Bishop Lightfoot writes of the character of Aidan, "I know no nobler type of the missionary spirit. His character, as it appears through the haze of antiquity, is almost absolutely faultless. Doubtless this haze may have obscured some imperfections which a clearer atmosphere and a nearer view would have enabled us to detect. But we cannot have been misled as to the main lineaments of the man. Measuring him side by side with other great missionaries of those days, Augustine of Canterbury, or Wilfrid of York, or Cuthbert of his own Lindisfarne, we are struck with the singular sweetness and breadth and sympathy of his character. He had all the virtues of his Celtic race without any of its

[1] iii. 26.

[2] Bede iv. 23, "consecrante Aidano episcopo."

faults. A comparison with his own spiritual forefather—the eager, headstrong, irascible, affectionate, penitent, patriotic, self-devoted Columba, the most romantic and attractive of all early mediæval saints—will justify this sentiment. He was tender, sympathetic, adventurous, self-sacrificing, but he was patient, steadfast, calm, appreciative, discreet before all things." [1]

Aidan's share in the conversion of England.

If we take into account the work of his disciples and the subsequent development of the missionary enterprises which he started, we are justified in claiming for Aidan, rather than for Augustine, the larger share in the evangelization of England. That the conversion of the greater part of England was due to the impulse of Aidan and his followers is admitted even by the Roman Catholic writer, Montalembert, who says:

"From the cloisters of Lindisfarne and from the heart of those districts in which the popularity of ascetic pontiffs such as Aidan, and martyr kings such as Oswald and Oswin, took day by day a deeper root, Northumbrian Christianity spread over the southern kingdoms. . . . What is distinctly visible is the influence of Celtic priests and missionaries everywhere replacing, or seconding, the Roman missionaries and reaching districts which their predecessors had never been able to enter. The stream of the Divine Word thus extended itself from north to south, and its slow but certain course reached in succession all the people of the Heptarchy." [2] Again he writes: "Of the eight kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxon Confederation, that of Kent alone was exclusively won and retained by the Roman monks whose first attempts among the

[1] *Leaders in the Northern Church*, p. 44.

[2] *Monks of the West*, iv. p. 88.

East Saxons and Northumbrians ended in failure. In Wessex and in East Anglia the Saxons of the West and the Angles of the East were converted by the combined action of continental missionaries and Celtic monks. As to the two Northumbrian kingdoms and those of Essex and Mercia, which comprehended in themselves more than two-thirds of the territory occupied by the German (Saxon) conquerors, these four countries owed their final conversion exclusively to the peaceful invasion of the Celtic monks, who not only rivalled the zeal of the Roman monks, but who, the first obstacles once surmounted, showed much more perseverance and gained much more success."[1]

We have quoted this appreciation of the work of the Celtic mission by Montalembert at some length because it gives in a few sentences an outline sketch of the conversion of England, and because the writer will not be suspected of exaggerating the importance of the work of Aidan at the expense of that done by the missionaries from Italy.

End of the Celtic mission.

The Celtic mission to Northumbria came to an abrupt end as the result of the decisions arrived at by the Conference which was held at Whitby in the spring of 664. It was decided at this Conference to abandon the Celtic usages relating to the tonsure and the keeping of Easter in favour of the Roman usages. The decision was reached owing to the action of King Oswy, who was largely influenced by Wilfrid. After the Conference the Celtic brotherhood at Lindisfarne was broken up and Colman returned with many of his brothers and scholars to Iona. "What heart," writes Montalembert,

[1] *Monks of the West*, iv. p. 125.

"is so cold as not to understand, to sympathize and to journey with him, along the Northumbrian coast and over the Scottish mountains where, bearing homeward the bones of his father (Aidan), the proud but vanquished spirit returned to his northern mists, and buried in the sacred isle of Iona his defeat and his unconquerable fidelity to the traditions of his race." [1]

With the departure of the Celtic missionaries ended "the golden age of saintliness, such as England would never see again," [2] but their withdrawal helped towards the unification of the Church and, through the instrumentality of the Church, the making of the English nation.

The three figures who stand out conspicuously in the story of the planting and early development of the Northumbrian Church are Oswald, Aidan and Hilda. The last of these, who was a member of the royal house, had been instructed and baptized as a child by Paulinus and later on became the chief friend and adviser of Aidan. The first half of her sixty-six years were spent in "the world" and the latter half as the ruler of a religious house. To her initiative was largely due the development of the monasteries which became the centres of education in the north of England. She died in 680.[3] St. Hilda.

Bede writes: "This servant of Christ, Abbess Hilda, whom all that knew her were wont to call Mother on account of her singular piety and grace, was not only a pattern of life to those who were in her monastery, but

[1] *Monks of the West*, iv. 170.

[2] *Leaders in the Northern Church*, Lightfoot, p. 14.

[3] For life and death of Hilda see Bede iv. cap. 23.

to many also at a distance, to whom the fame of her industry and virtue came, she afforded occasion of salvation and amendment."

The Conversion of Wessex

Extent of Wessex.

Wessex, the kingdom of the West Saxons, was founded by Cerdic about 519. At the time when the Gospel was first preached to its inhabitants, its boundaries were subject to frequent changes according as the wars, in which its kings were constantly engaged, tended to increase or contract the kingdom. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* states that in 597 "Ceowulf began to reign over the West Saxons and he fought and contended incessantly with Angle-kin, or with Welsh, or with Picts, or with Scots." About this time Wessex included Hampshire, Surrey, Oxfordshire and parts of Buckinghamshire. About the year 633 Pope Honorius received a visit from a man of a missionary spirit named

St. Birinus.

Birinus,[1] who said that he desired "to scatter the seeds of the holy faith in those furthest inland territories of the English to which no teacher had as yet come."[2] The Pope approved his resolve and sent him to be consecrated as a bishop by Asterius bishop of Milan, who apparently resided at Genoa.[3]

In 634 Birinus landed, probably at Porchester, in Hampshire, and "finding all the people most pagan, he thought it better to preach the word there rather than to proceed further to search for others to whom

[1] The nationality of Birinus is uncertain. It has been suggested that the name is identical with the Irish Byrne: see *The Conversion of the Heptarchy*, by Bp. Browne, p. 48.

[2] Bede, iii. 7.

[3] Bede refers to him as bishop of Genoa.

he might preach."[1] His preaching met with speedy success and the king, Cynegils, "having been catechized was washed in the fountain of baptism together with his people,"[2] apparently towards the end of 635. The success of Birinus may have been helped by the presence of Oswald, "the most holy and victorious king of the Northumbrians," who desired to marry the daughter of Cynegils, and who, being present on the occasion, "received[3] him as he came forth from the laver of baptism." Bede continues, "the two kings gave to the bishop the city called Dorcic[4] (Dorchester) in order that he might establish this as his see, where, having built and consecrated churches, and having by his pious labour called many to the Lord, he himself migrated to the Lord." Cwichelm the son of Cynegils was baptized at Dorchester in 636 but died the same year. The king, who died in 643, was succeeded by his son Kenwalch, or Coinwalch, who had "refused to embrace the mysteries of the heavenly kingdom" and was a strong upholder of heathenism. Having put away his wife, who was a sister of Penda the king of the Mercians, in order to marry another, he was attacked and defeated by Penda (645) and retired as an exile to Anna the king of the East Saxons. During the three years which he spent in exile "he discerned and received the true faith."[5] When at length he had regained his kingdom, "a certain bishop called Agilbert, a native of Gaul, who had lived for a long time

The see of Dorchester.

King Kenwalch.

Bishop Agilbert.

[1] Bede iii. 7. A later legend, given by Bromton, states that on landing he preached for three days and that among his audience were many who had been converted by Augustine.

[2] The baptism of Cynegils by Birinus is represented on an old font in Winchester Cathedral.

[3] This was the function of a sponsor.

[4] Eight and a half miles from Oxford.

[5] According to the *A.-S. Chronicle* the date of his baptism was 646.

in Ireland for the sake of reading the Scriptures,"[1] came of his own accord and began to preach, whereupon the king, "observing his erudition and industry," desired him to remain as his bishop. Birinus died on December 3, 650.

After Agilbert had acted as bishop for "many years" the king, who understood only the Saxon language, having grown weary of the bishop's "barbarous tongue," brought into the province a Saxon bishop named Wini who had been ordained in Gaul, and, having divided his kingdom into two dioceses, created for Wini an episcopal seat at Wintancestir (Winchester). Agilbert "being grievously offended because he had done this without consulting him went north to Northumbria and eventually returned to Gaul and was made bishop of Paris." "Not many years after Agilbert's departure out of Britain Wini was expelled from his bishopric by the same king and took refuge with Wulfhere king of the Mercians, from whom he purchased for money the see of the city of London[2] and remained bishop thereof till his death."[3] After the expulsion of Wini the king, moved by the calamities which befell him and his people, sent messengers to Paris begging Agilbert to return. This he refused to do, but he sent his nephew, a priest named Leutherius, suggesting that he might be made a bishop. At the king's request Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated him as bishop (670) in the city of Winchester, and—continues Bede—"for many years he zealously governed the bishopric of the Gewissæ (West Saxons) with synodical authority."

Bishop Wini

purchases the see of London.

Bishop Leutherius.

[1] Bede iii. 7.

[2] Matthew Paris writes of him: 'unde post mortem in serie episcoporum Londinensium non meruit recenseri.'

[3] Bede iii. 7.

Of the bishops of the West Saxons who were men of note, and who were specially interested in missionary enterprises mention should be made of Daniel, who became bishop of Winchester in 705, and of Aldhelm, who became bishop of Sherborne in the same year.

Bpp. Daniel and Aldhelm.

The Isle of Wight was finally conquered by the West Saxons in 630, after which it was held by the Jutes and later on became part of the kingdom of Wessex. In 680 it was given to the South Saxon king of Sussex, but in 686 Ceadwalla, who had seized the kingdom of Wessex, won back the island which was still "entirely given over to idolatry." He then "by cruel slaughter endeavoured to exterminate all its inhabitants and to place in their stead people belonging to his own province, binding himself by an oath . . . that if he took the island he would give a fourth part of it as booty to the Lord, which vow he performed when he gave it to Bishop Wilfrid, who happened at the time to have come hither out of his own nation." [1]

Conquest of the I. of Wight, 630.

Wilfrid committed the task of evangelizing the island to his nephew Bernwin and gave him as his assistant a priest named Hiddila to minister the word and baptism "to all who desired to be saved."

The I. of Wight evangelized by Wilfrid.

The Conversion of Mercia

Mercia, that is the march-land or border-land, was the name given to the territory where the West Angles marched with the Britons of North Wales and the Britons of Cumbria. Its inhabitants were Angles as distinguished from Saxons and Jutes. Penda, the

[1] Bede iv. 16.

Penda king of Mercia.

heathen king of Mercia, began his career by defeating and killing Edwin the first Christian king of Northumbria (633), and later on he killed his successor, Oswald (642). In twenty-two years he killed five kings, all of whom were Christians. The first attempt to introduce Christianity into Mercia dates from about 653, when Peada, a son of Penda, having been made by him sub-king of the Middle Angles (653), who occupied, roughly speaking, the present county of Leicester, came to Oswy the king of the Northumbrian Angles to ask the hand of his daughter Elfleda in marriage. The condition imposed by Oswy was that Peada must become a Christian and try to convert to Christianity the people over whom he ruled. After undergoing a course of instruction, and having "heard the preaching of the truth, the promise of the heavenly kingdom and the hope of resurrection and future immortality, he declared that he would willingly become a Christian, even though he should be refused the virgin." Soon afterwards "he was baptized by Bishop Finan with all his earls (comitibus) and soldiers who had come with him, . . . and having received four priests who for their learning and good life were deemed fit to instruct and baptize his nation, he returned with great joy. These priests were Cedd, Adda, Betti and Diuma, the last of whom was by nation a Scot (Irish), the others being English." [1] On the return of Peada to his own people these priests "preached the word and were willingly listened to, and many both of the nobles and of those of lower degree renouncing the vileness of idolatry were baptized daily." The opposition of Penda to Christianity had

Introduction of Christianity.

Baptism of Peada.

[1] Bede iii. 21.

by this time ended, and though he did not himself become a Christian he ceased to prevent his subjects from accepting baptism. He was keen, moreover, to note those who professed the Christian faith and failed to live in accordance with its precepts. Thus Bede writes: "He hated and despised those whom, after they had received the faith of Christ, he perceived not to perform the works of faith, and said that those were contemptible and wretched who contemned obedience to their God in whom they believed." Penda's attitude towards Christianity.

In 656 Penda was killed fighting against Oswy and the latter added the kingdom of Mercia to his dominions. Diuma, the Scottish priest, was then made bishop of the Middle Angles over whom Peada continued to rule, and of the Mercians under the rule of Oswy. As illustrating the small share which the Italian Mission had in the conversion of the English we may note that in 656, sixty years after the despatch of this Mission, "Northumbria, Mercia, the East Saxon kingdom and Wessex were all ruled by bishops of Irish or Scottish consecration, and the teaching of Christianity was entirely in the hands of men of the pre-Augustine churches of these islands."[1] In 656 Peada was murdered and three years later the Mercians revolted from Oswy and set up Wulfhere a son of Penda as their king. Soon after Theodore reached Canterbury in 669 Wulfhere applied to him for help, as Mercia was then without a bishop, and it was eventually arranged that Chad should leave York and become bishop of Mercia. By this time the conversion of Mercia was practically completed. Death of Penda, 655. King Wulfhere.

[1] *The Conversion of the Heptarchy*, by Bp. Browne, p. 114.

The Conversion of Sussex

Isolation of Sussex.

The last portion of England to embrace the Christian faith was the district which now forms the county of Sussex. The dense barrier of forest and marsh that separated it from the Italian Mission in Kent had apparently prevented the representatives of this Mission from making any attempt during three-quarters of a century to secure the conversion of its inhabitants.[1] In 681, when Kent had been Christian for 84 and London for about 16 years, the first attempt was made to convert the South Saxons of Sussex, the leader of the enterprise being the famous Wilfrid of York. But although this was the date of the first organised effort to preach the Christian faith to the people, there had been Christians in Sussex before the coming of Wilfrid. Thus Bede writes: "There was among them a certain monk of the Scottish (Irish) nation, Dicul by name, who had a very small monastery in a place called Bosanham, encompassed with the sea and woods, and in it five or six brothers who served the Lord in humility and poverty; but none of the people of the province cared either to imitate their life, or to listen to their preaching." [2]

Wilfrid in Sussex, 681.

Dicul.

Another and more influential representative of Chris-

[1] Bp. Browne writes, "The South Saxons were shut off from the world by a belt of forest, represented as impassable, 120 m. long from east to west and 30 m. deep. So far as ancient roads were concerned, we may fairly say that the best way to Sussex from anywhere was by sea." *The Conversion of the Heptarchy*, 161.

[2] Bede iv. 13. Bp. Browne writes: "I risk the suggestion that Wulfhere, who had good reason to know and be grateful for the missionary ability of the Scotic Church, had recommended Dicul and his monks to Ethelwalch, as 20 years before Oswy had sent four Scotic teachers to Mercia to begin the conversion of that great kingdom."

tianity in Sussex was the king of the South Saxons, Ethelwalch, who had, "not long before,[1] been baptized in the province of the Mercians by the persuasion of King Wulfhere, who was present," and acted as his godfather. On the occasion of his baptism King Wulfhere gave him the Isle of Wight[2] and the province of Meonwara which included the eastern half of Hampshire. His queen, whose name was Ebba, had been baptized before her marriage with Ethelwalch, in the province of the Hwiccii.[3]

Baptism of King Ethelwalch,

Queen Ebba,

As a result of his missionary labours in Sussex, Wilfrid "with the king's consent, or rather to his great satisfaction, baptized the principal leaders and soldiers; and the priests Eappa, Padda, Burghelm and Eadda, either then or afterwards baptized the rest of the people." By a happy—perhaps we should say a providential—coincidence, the day on which the first converts were baptized witnessed the end of the drought that had lasted for three years and had caused widespread famine and even starvation. The ending of the drought was regarded by the people as a token of divine approval and the speedy conversion of the people throughout Sussex ensued. Bede writes: "Their former superstition having been rejected, and idolatry having been expelled, the heart and flesh of all exulted in the living God, for they perceived that He who is the true God had by His heavenly grace enriched them with both inward and outward blessings." Their gratitude was further increased when Wilfrid proceeded

and many others.

[1] Wulfhere's reign ended in 672 or 673, *i.e.* about 9 years before the arrival of Wilfrid.

[2] See p. 139.

[3] A district that included parts of Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Gloucestershire.

Wilfrid teaches his converts to fish.

to give his converts lessons in fishing. "For the bishop, when he came into the province and witnessed the great loss caused by the famine, taught them to seek a livelihood by fishing, for the sea and their rivers abounded in fish, but the people had no skill to catch them save only eels. The bishop's men having collected eel-nets everywhere, cast them into the sea, and by the blessing of God they soon caught three hundred fishes of different kinds."[1] These they divided into three lots, one of which was given to the poor, one to the owners of the nets and one to the fishermen. It is probable that Wilfrid had himself learned the art of fishing when as a boy he had been educated at Lindisfarne. The method by which he commended his preaching of the Christian faith has been followed by many other missionaries in other lands.[2]

Selsey monastery.

At this time the king gave to Wilfrid Selsey, "which is called in Latin the island of the sea-calf," "in order to maintain his companions who were in exile."[3] On this island, or rather peninsula, Wilfrid built a monastery of which Eappa became the head under Wilfrid. And "forasmuch as the king gave him together with the possession of the place all that was there, including the lands and the men, he instructed all in the faith of Christ and washed them in the water of baptism. Among them were two hundred and fifty men and women slaves, all of whom by baptism he not only rescued from the servitude of the devil but gave to them also bodily liberty and set them free from the

Baptism of 250 slaves.

[1] Bede iv. 13.

[2] The biographer of St. Gall refers to his fishing on Lake of Constance, but this was to supply the needs of his own brethren, see below, p. 316.

[3] When Wilfrid was banished from Northumbria those of his friends who were banished at the same time continued to look to him for support, and some of them had apparently followed him to Sussex.

yoke of human slavery."[1] Wilfrid continued his labours in Sussex for five years and when in 686, after the death of Egfrid of Northumbria, he set out again for the north, he left behind him the Christian kingdom of Sussex.[2] "For five years," writes Dr. Bright, "he exercised in those parts the office of the episcopate, both by words and by deeds, deservedly honoured by all, with the little cathedral of Selsey instead of York, with the poor simple neophytes of Sussex instead of the Northumbrian Church in its stately organization, with Ethelwalch and Ebba—a happy exchange—instead of Egfrid and Ermenburga, his troubles settling down into the quietness of an 'apostleship,' which might for a while seclude the man whose name had been heard through Europe, but which in the general estimate of his life may be truly said to constitute its crown."[3]

Wilfrid leaves Sussex.

In 709 it was determined by a West Saxon synod that the South Saxons, who had up to that time been included in the diocese of Winchester, should have a bishop of their own and Eadbert abbot of Selsey was consecrated as bishop of Selsey. There were 22 bishops of Selsey prior to the Norman Conquest, after which the site of the see was moved to Chichester.

Eadbert Bishop of Selsey, 709.

The Conversion of the East Saxons

The kingdom of the East Saxons, which included the town of London, was founded by Erchenwin about 527.

[1] Bede iv. 13.

[2] That Wilfrid laboured in Meonwara, *i.e.* the eastern half of Hampshire, which was given by Wulfhere to Ethelwalch, is suggested by an inscription in the porch of Warnford church which states that the original church on this site was built by Wilfrid. The name Meonwara is preserved in the names East Meon and West Meon.

[3] *Chapters of Early Eng. Ch. Hist.* p. 317.

Conversion of King Sabert, 604.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 604 reads, "This year the East Saxons received the faith and baptism under King Sabert and Bishop Mellitus." As we have already noted, on the death of Sabert his three sons professed idolatry and forced Mellitus to leave London in 616.

Mellitus at Canterbury.

He returned to London in the following year at the request of the Kentish king, but, as the inhabitants of London refused to receive him, he retired to Canterbury and in 619 he became archbishop. From 616 to 653 London and the country that now forms the county of Essex remained heathen. The story of the

Re-conversion of London.

re-conversion of London and of the East Saxons which is given by Bede was supplied to him by Nothelm, who was archpresbyter of London and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and has a good claim to be regarded as authentic. Sigebert the Good, who became king of the East Saxons shortly before 653, was a friend of Oswy the king of Northumbria, and on the occasion of his visits to Northumbria Oswy "used to endeavour to make him understand that those could not be gods that had been made by men's hands, that a stock or stone could not afford material wherewith to create a god, the remains of which were burned as firewood, or made into vessels for common use or thrown out as refuse and trodden into the ground: that God is rather to be regarded as incomprehensible in majesty, invisible to human eyes, omnipotent and eternal, who created the heaven and the earth and the race of man, who governed and will judge the world in equity, whose eternal seat we must believe to be not in vile and decaying matter but in heaven; and that it ought to be assumed that all who have learned and done

the will of their Creator will receive from Him eternal rewards." [1]

King Oswy's arguments eventually prevailed and Sigebert and his companions and attendants were baptized by Bishop Finan at or about the same time as Peada of Mercia was baptized. After his baptism Sigebert begged Oswy to send Christian teachers to act as missionaries to his people, and accordingly Cedd, a brother of Chad who became bishop of Lichfield, with another priest went to preach to the East Saxons. "When these two, travelling to all parts of the country, had gathered a numerous church to our Lord," Cedd returned to Lindisfarne to confer with Bishop Finan and was by him consecrated as bishop of the East Saxons. Returning to Essex Cedd "built churches in several places and ordained priests and deacons to assist him in the work of faith and in the ministry of baptism." [2] The two centres of his work specially mentioned by Bede are Ythancestir [3] and Tilaburg, the modern Tilbury. At these places he "gathered a flock of the servants of Christ and taught them the discipline of regular life, as far as these rude people were as yet able to receive it." After some time Sigebert was murdered by two of his relations, who alleged as their reason for committing the crime that "they hated him because he was too ready to spare his enemies and to forgive the wrongs done to him by those who asked his pardon." His successor, Suidhelm, was baptized by Cedd in the province of the East Angles, Ethelwald king of the East Angles acting as his godfather. During

Baptism of Sigebert by Bp. Finan.

Cedd.

Murder of Sigebert.

Baptism of King Suidhelm.

[1] Bede iii. 22.

[2] Id.

[3] Probably to be identified with the Roman camp at Othona near Tillingham in Essex.

Cedd in Yorkshire.

one of Cedd's visits to Yorkshire Ethelwald, who ruled over the Deiri, invited him "to accept some land to build a monastery to which the king himself might frequently resort to pray to the Lord and to hear the word, and in which he might be buried when he died." [1] The site selected was Laestingaen, which is usually identified with Lastingham near Whitby.[2] Referring to its foundation Bede writes: "Complying with the wish of the king, he chose for himself a place to build a monastery among craggy and remote mountains, which looked more like lurking-places for robbers and retreats for wild beasts than habitations for men, so that in accordance with the prophecy of Isaiah, 'in the habitations where before dragons dwelt might be grass with reeds and rushes,' that is that the fruits of good works should spring up where before beasts were wont to dwell, or men to live after the manner of beasts." [3]

Death of Cedd, 664.

In this monastery, soon after the synod of Whitby (664), Cedd died of the plague and was buried. As an illustration of the love with which Cedd inspired his fellow-workers we may note the fact, recorded by Bede, that when the news of the death of their bishop reached Cedd's monastery in Essex, "about thirty men came thither (to Lastingham) being desirous either to live near the body of their father, if it should please God, or to die and be buried there. After being lovingly received by their brethren and fellow-soldiers (in Christ) they all died there by the aforesaid pestilence, except one little boy." This boy lived to become a priest and to be "useful to many in the church."

[1] Bede iii. 23.

[2] Bp. Browne suggests that the site was Kirkdale, near Kirkby Moorside. See *The Conversion of the Heptarchy*, p. 151.

[3] Bede iii. 23.

Although Cedd was bishop of the East Saxons in whose territory London was situated, he is never referred to as bishop of London and it seems probable that the leaning towards paganism of the inhabitants of London caused him to fix the centre of his diocese elsewhere. At this time there were two kings of the East Saxons, Sighere and Sebbi, both of whom owed allegiance to the king of Mercia as their superior lord. Sighere apparently ruled over those who lived in or near London. Bede says that in consequence of the ravages of the plague of which Cedd died "Sighere, with that part of the people that was under his dominion, forsook the mysteries of the Christian faith and turned apostate. For the king himself and many of the people and of the great men being fond of this life, and not seeking one to come, nor believing that there was such, began to restore the idol temples which had been abandoned and to worship images, as if by these they might be protected against the mortality."[1] When news of what had happened reached Wulfhere the king of Mercia, he sent Jaruman the bishop of Lichfield "to correct the error and to restore the truth." His mission proved a remarkable success, and having travelled far and wide throughout the country, "he led again both the people and the king into the way of righteousness, so that, forsaking or destroying the temples and altars that they had made, they opened the churches and rejoiced to confess the name of Christ which they had opposed, desiring rather to die in Him with the faith of the resurrection than to live in the filth of apostasy among their idols."[2] Their task having been accomplished, "the priests and

Kings Sighere and Sebbi.

A heathen reaction.

Bp. Jaruman in London, 665.

[1] Bede iii. 30.

[2] Id.

teachers returned home with joy." Sebbi the other king of the East Saxons had not apostatized, but, "together with all his people, had devoutly preserved the faith which he had embraced."[1]

Bp. Wini. Cedd was succeeded by the simoniacal bishop Wini, to whom reference has already been made.[2] From this time forward the profession of the Christian faith by the East Saxons continued without any further pagan reaction.

Cornwall

Cornish crosses. There is no evidence available to enable us to determine the date at which Christianity was introduced into Cornwall. Of the three or four hundred early crosses which have been found none apparently date back earlier than the fifth century,[3] and, if we may judge by the dedications of the Cornish churches, it would seem to be likely that the first churches were

Traces of Gallican saints. erected during the fifth century. Several churches are dedicated to Gallican saints, *e.g.* to Germanus of Auxerre, Hilary of Poitiers and Martin of Tours. A connection between the Christianity of Cornwall and Brittany is suggested by the dedication of churches to Brioc the founder of Treguier, Winwolus founder of Landeveneck, Ninnoca the foundress of Lan Ninnoc, Sampson and Budoc, bishops of Dol. Churches are also dedicated

Welsh saints. Irish saints. to Welsh saints, *e.g.* Cybi, Carranog, Petrock,[4] David and Govan, and to Irish saints, *e.g.* Columba, Colan,

[1] The sarcophagus containing the bones of Sebbi was in St. Paul's cathedral until the fire. See Bede iv. 11.

[2] See above, p. 138.

[3] See *Old Cornish Crosses*, by A. G. Langdon, 1896: Haddan and Stubbs, i. 163 f.

[4] According to the *Vita S. Petroci* he was an uncle of St. Cadoc, see *Acta SS.* March 5.

Hya, Piran (Kiaran),[1] Sennen, Feock and Rumon (Ruan), also to Irish virgins, *e.g.* Bylaca, Burian and Ia. A few Saxon or Danish saints are also represented, *e.g.* Cuthbert, Dunstan, Werburgh, Menefrida and Olave.

Cornwall connected with Brittany and S. Wales.

The dedications of the churches suggest that Cornwall was more closely connected with Brittany and South Wales than with Ireland, or the rest of Britain, and the character and ornamentation of the early crosses harmonize with this supposition. It is not impossible that Christianity was first introduced from Brittany. Kenstec, bishop of Dinnurrin in Cornwall, professed obedience to Archbishop Ceolnoth, *circ.* 870.[2] The British Church of Cornwall became subject to the see of Canterbury during the reign of Athelstan, 925-940, and apparently the first Saxon bishop was appointed in 950.[3]

The Scilly Islands.

Sulpicius Severus states that the Priscillianist bishops Instantius, Asarinus and the deacon Aurelius were banished in 380 to the Scilly Isles. This statement may perhaps be taken to show that there was a Christian community in the Islands at this period.[4]

[1] According to the *Vita S. Pirani*, Piran was bishop of Saighir in Ireland. He is said to have been a contemporary of St. Patrick, and to have died at Padstow. This tradition, however, is late and untrustworthy.

[2] See Haddan and Stubbs, p. 674.

[3] Id. i. 683.

[4] S. Sev. *Hist. Sœc.* ii. 51.

CHAPTER V

WALES

Early traditions.

Of the missionaries who introduced Christianity into Wales[1] and of its early development in that country little is known, and most of the traditions that have come down to us, as for example those relating to the work of Germanus and David, are unhistorical.

Thus Haddan and Stubbs, after referring to the existing Lives of Dubricius, David, Cadoc, Illtud, Samson, Finian, Brandan, Gildas and others who are reported to have lived in or to have visited Wales, write, "No lives among the above can claim to approach to history. That of St. David by Ricemarch, that of Gildas by the Monk of Ruys . . . were written about four or five, the rest (except perhaps the earliest one of St. Samson) five or six centuries after the deaths of their respective subjects, and they are all simply historical legends, but of persons who for the most part really existed."[2]

Bran.

A tradition which has no historical value and which first appeared in the eleventh century states that Bran

[1] The word Wales (or Wealas) meant foreigners and was applied by the Saxons to the Britons who retired before them westwards. The country which is now called Wales was formerly called North Wales, and Devon and Cornwall bore the title of West Wales.

[2] *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i. p. 161 n. It should, however, be stated in justice to Ricemarch that some of the documents of which he made use he believed to be contemporary with St. David.

the father of Caradog or Caractacus was converted to Christianity when a captive in Rome, *circ.* 51, and on his return to Wales introduced Christianity into that country.[1]

According to the comparatively late tradition Germanus, bishop of Auxerre,[2] who came to England in 429 in order to combat Pelagianism, went on to Wales, and by his prayers secured for the Welsh chiefs near the River Dee a victory over the Pictish pirates, which came to be known as the Alleluia victory. As a result of this victory he was able to found the monasteries of Llancarvan and Llanilltyd from which most of the other Welsh monasteries eventually sprang. The tradition further asserts that Germanus consecrated Dubricius as bishop and dedicated the palace at Llandaff to the Apostle St. Peter. It is doubtful whether any part of this tradition ought to be accepted as historical. As Germanus died in 448 and Dubricius probably lived till 610, the latter, if the tradition be correct, must have been nearly 200 when he died.[3] Germanus in Wales.

The author of the Life of Samson in the *Acta Sanctorum* (July 6) states that Germanus ordained the priest Illtut[4] (egregius magister Britannorum), who founded the monastery of Llantwit (Llanilltyd).

This monastery in which Illtut is said to have lived, was apparently situated on the island of Caldy off the the coast of Pembrokeshire. His pupils included Gildas, Samson and Paul Aurelian. He was probably an Illtut.

[1] See H. & Stubbs, i. p. 22.

[2] See Life of Germanus by J. H. Newman (*Lives of English Saints*) p. 150. See also Life of Germanus by Constantius in *Acta Sanctorum* for July 31.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs regard the connection of Germanus with Wales as "unhistorical," and "mixed up with evident fiction."

[4] The Life of Illtut is published by Rees in the *Cambro-British Saints.*

Armorican Briton, but the earliest life of him, which is not earlier than the twelfth century, is so obviously unhistorical that it is difficult to be sure of any details in regard to his life and work.

Christian Picts in S. Wales.

It is probable that Christianity was first spread in South Wales by Picts who had become Christians as the result of the labours of St. Ninian, or his followers, the centre of whose work was the monastery of Candida Casa or Witherne on the west side of Wigtown Bay. The date of the building of this monastery is 396 or 397.[1]

Dubricius.

Of the life of Dubricius little or nothing can be certainly ascertained. He is said to have been a grandson of Brychan, king of Brecknockshire, and to have become archbishop of Caerleon,[2] which post he resigned on the occasion of the Synod of Llanddewibrefi in order that David might be appointed as his successor. He is venerated as the founder of the see of Llandaff. Dubricius is a prominent character in the story of King Arthur as related by Geoffrey of Monmouth. The date of his death suggested by Rees is 522, but this is a much earlier date than that usually accepted.

St. David.

The date of St. David (Dewi), the best known of the Welsh saints, and the only one whose name appears in the English calendar, is a matter of dispute. According to the *Annales Cambriæ*, our earliest authority, he died in 601, this date being accepted by Haddan and Stubbs. Rees, the author of *Cambro-British Saints*, places it, however, in 566. His earliest known biography was written by Ricemarch, who lived at

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, by W. E. Skene, ii. 2. See also Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 4; Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 105.

[2] Caerleon-on-Usk was near Newport in Monmouthshire.

the close of the eleventh century.[1] From this later biographers have drawn most of their materials. Most of the details given by them, such as his visit to Jerusalem to be consecrated as a bishop, are purely legendary. His appointment as archbishop of Wales, as a result of his success in combating the Pelagian heresy, is also unhistorical, as Wales possessed no archbishop at any period of its history. Of the facts relating to his life which may perhaps be true the following are the most important. His father is said to have been the Chief of Keretica, the modern Cardiganshire. Educated in the college of Paulinus, who was a pupil of Germanus, he subsequently spent ten years in the study of the Holy Scriptures and afterwards founded, or restored, a monastery, or college, and, after residing for a time at Caerleon-on-Usk, moved to Menevia (St. Davids), of which he became bishop. It has been plausibly suggested that the choice of so remote a site was due to the fact that the tide of Saxon conquest drove the Celtic inhabitants of Wales to cultivate closer relations with their brethren in Ireland.[2] He was canonized by Pope Callixtus about 1120.

Although the encomium of Giraldus, one of his biographers, is not founded on satisfactory historical evidence, we may well believe his description to be substantially true. He wrote of St. David that he was "a mirror and pattern to all, instructing both by word and example, excellent in his preaching, but still more so in his works. He was a doctrine to all, a guide to

[1] A short notice of St. David appears in the *Life of Paul Aurelian*, written about 200 years before the time of Ricemarch.

[2] Giraldus describes the site of Menevia as "Angulus remotissimus, terra saxosa sterilis infecunda." Itin. Camb. ii. 1.

the religious, a life to the poor, a support to orphans, a protection to widows, a father to the fatherless, a rule to monks, and a model to teachers, becoming all to all, that so he might gain all to God."

The wearing of the leek.

From very early times the Welsh have worn a leek on St. David's Day (March 1), in memory of the battle against the Saxons at which they wore leeks in their hats by David's advice in order to distinguish them from their enemies. The name Taffy, to which every Welshman responds, is a variation of David.

Taffy.

The description given by his biographer of the rule of life established by David at Menevia was written many centuries after his time, and cannot be regarded as historical, but it is nevertheless interesting as showing the ideals which those who came after attributed to him. His biographer writes—"Knowing that secure rest was an incentive to ill, and the mother of vices, he subjected the shoulders of the monks to divine labours . . . therefore with a view to their benefit they labour with their hands, and put the yoke to their shoulders . . . they obtain all the necessaries of life for their congregation by means of their own labour, they refuse possessions, they reject the gifts of unjust men, they detest riches, they make no use of oxen for ploughing. Every one is rich to himself: when the work is completed no murmuring is heard: no discourse is had but what is necessary, and every one either prays or rightly performs his appointed work. . . . They are dressed in cheap clothing, principally made of skins." Of the head of the monastery he writes, "The father shedding daily abundance of tears and perfuming the mats with the sacrifice of prayer, and sweet with a

The monastery at Menevia.

double warmth of love and fragrance, consecrated the appointed oblation of our Lord's body with clean hands. . . . Also he sought cold water at some distance, where by remaining long therein, and becoming frozen, he might subdue the heat of the flesh." [1]

Giraldus states, that all the bishops of St. Davids rigidly abstained from eating flesh until the thirty-third bishop, Morgenev, who was killed by Danish pirates as a punishment for having eaten meat.

St. Kentigern in Wales.

If the traditions relating to St. Kentigern that are recorded by Jocelyn can be accepted, he came on a visit to Bishop David about 545, and a little later founded the monastery of Llanelwy (St. Asaph's), which soon afterwards contained 965 brethren. Before leaving Wales (about 573) Kentigern placed his disciple Asaph in charge of the monastery. His name, which was afterwards given to the place, became also the name of a bishopric.

St. Cadoc.

Cadoc is said to have founded a monastery and several churches in South Wales in the latter part of the sixth century. Professor Rees writes, "The discrepancies and anachronisms in all the accounts of St. Cadoc, or Cattwg, can only be accounted for by supposing that two or three individuals have been confounded together, and this appears to have been the case in other instances as well as this—hence has arisen the necessity of lengthening the lives of our Welsh saints to something like double the usual average of human existence, and it has been even asserted that the usual duration of life in the county of Glamorgan was 120 years." [2]

[1] See Vita S. David in Rees' *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 127 f. and 429-31.

[2] *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 395.

The Saxon monk, Bede, to whom we are indebted for several important statements relating to the Celtic Church both in Wales and in Scotland, was prejudiced against all things Celtic, and in particular against the Celtic Church whereinsoever it differed from the Latin. It is clear that the contest between Augustine and Dinoth turned not upon the questions relating to the keeping of Easter, and the ceremonial of baptism, that are mentioned by Bede,[1] but upon issues of greater and more vital importance. Towards the close of the seventh century the Christian Church in Wales received many recruits from the number of the Christians who had been oppressed by the pagan Saxons and who fled for refuge to Wales. Thus Chaucer writes—

Christian refugees in Wales.

> "To Walys fled the cristianitee
> Of olde Britons, dwelling in this ile." [2]

Celtic Christianity, its independent character.

A general characteristic of Celtic Christianity was its independence of all control from outside. In Wales, as in Scotland and Ireland, its development was in accordance with tribal as opposed to imperial ideas and institutions. In Saxon England the Church asserted almost from the first an equality with the State, but amongst the Celts the Church became the handmaid of the State or rather of the tribe. It is not surprising therefore to learn that when a tribe decided to accept Christianity a large number of tribal customs which were of pagan origin were retained.

The establishment of monasteries and of monastic

[1] *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 2. The Celtic method of reckoning Easter was continued in Wales till the middle of the eighth century. The north Welsh adopted the English reckoning in 755 (or 768) and the south Welsh in 777 (see Haddan and Stubbs, i. 204).

[2] *Tale of the Man of Lawe.*

institutions was a principal means by which the missionary work of the Celtic Church was accomplished.

The Celtic monasteries, especially those in Ireland and Wales, differed both in origin and character from those founded by Latin monks. Thus Montalembert writes: "The first great monasteries of Ireland were nothing else . . . than clans reorganized under a religious form. From this cause resulted the extraordinary number of their inhabitants, who were counted by hundreds and thousands." [1] The monasteries were subject to no general rule or control, and in some cases, at any rate in Ireland, up to the middle of the sixth century, the inmates included women and children.

Celtic monks not necessarily celibates.

"Whatever else they were, neither the Celtic monks nor the Celtic clergy in Ireland or Wales ever professed to be a body of celibates, and this fact goes far to prove that the monasticism of Wales was not due to Germanus, nor to any Latin source." [2] The fact that David, when he founded his monastery at Menevia, refused to allow any women to reside within its enclosure, suggests that a different practice had previously prevailed.

Contact with Latin monks on the continent probably led to the adoption of a regular rule by the Celtic monks. The rule, however, of Columbanus does not appear to have been adopted either in Ireland or Wales. Towards the end of the sixth century the monasteries tended to become more and more schools of learning.

A modern writer thus refers to the low type of Christianity which prevailed in Wales in the fourth and following centuries.

[1] *The Monks of the West*, iii. 86.
[2] *The Celtic Church in Wales*, by Willis Bund, p. 162.

Early Welsh Christianity.

"Wales from the end of the fourth century has never nominally relapsed into heathendom. Probably this was because the establishment of Christianity being on the Irish lines of tribal settlements, and those settlements being left to themselves, the Welsh Christians absorbed practically the whole of the existing customs of the Goidelic Celts and called this mixture Christianity. They did not relapse as there was nothing for them to relapse into, as their Christianity was only a modified form of paganism."[1]

Welsh bishops.

The number of bishops in Wales in early times was very great as compared with the number in England. Haddan and Stubbs, whilst they deny that the Irish and Scotch custom prevailed of having bishops who discharged episcopal functions but possessed no jurisdiction, admit that Wales in early times possessed bishops who were not diocesan, but presided over monastic or educational institutions.[2] Some indication of the number of Welsh bishops that existed in the sixth century may be obtained from the statement that at the Welsh synod of Llanddewibrefi there were 118 bishops present.

Welsh saints.

It would appear that the term Saint was used by the Welsh in early times only less freely than was the case in Ireland. Thus the total number of Welsh saints is between 400 and 500. After the beginning of the eighth century only four additions were made to the list.

Virgin saints.

Amongst the Welsh saints are included several Virgins. Of these perhaps the most famous is St. Keyne who, like St. Hilda, is said to have turned serpents

[1] *The Celtic Church of Wales*, by Willis Bund, pp. 139 f.

[2] *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i. pp. 142 f.

into stones and, like St. Audrey, to have caused a spring to burst forth from dry ground. She is said to have lived a solitary and ascetic life at Keynsham, near Bristol, and afterwards in Cornwall. When she was about to die she had a vision of an angel who stripped her of her hair-cloth and "put on her a singular white vesture and a garment of scarlet wrought with gold," and said to her: "Be in readiness to go with us that we may bring thee to the kingdom of thy Father." [1]

Referring to the failure of the Welsh to attempt the evangelization of the Saxons,[2] Haddan and Stubbs write, "It is remarkable that while Scots (Irish) were the missionaries *par excellence* of nearly all Europe north of the Alps, and in particular of all Saxon England north of the Thames, not one Cumbrian, Welsh or Cornish missionary to any non-Celtic nation is mentioned anywhere. . . . The same remark applies also to the Armorican Britons." [3]

[1] See *Acta SS.*, Oct. 8, also *Nova Legenda*, i. 103 ff.

[2] See above, pp. 95, 97.

[3] H. & Stubbs, i. 154. Ninian may perhaps be regarded as an exception. He was a Briton from Strathclyde.

CHAPTER VI

FRANCE

Druidism in ancient Gaul.

The campaigns of Julius Cæsar, 58-51 B.C., resulted in the incorporation of the whole of Gaul in the Roman Empire. At this time the religion of its people, or at any rate of a large proportion of them, was a form of Druidism, the chief centres of worship being at Dreux, Chartres, and Autun. Druidism had, however, disappeared throughout a large part of Gaul before the arrival of Christian missionaries, the influence of its hierarchy having been undermined partly by the action of Tiberius, who had prohibited the human sacrifices that formed part of the Druidical ritual, and partly by the application to their judicial and political assemblies of the Roman law relating to illicit associations.[1] Whilst Druidism, or Druidical worship, had been gradually assimilated to the worship of the Roman gods, the worship of Isis and Mithra had been introduced from the East and claimed a considerable number of adherents. In the time of St. Martin, who lived in the fourth century, and even as late as the time of Gregory of Tours, Druidism still prevailed in certain districts. By the time that the Christian faith first began to penetrate the country Roman culture and in some districts Roman towns had been established. At the end

[1] See Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, i. 415 ff.

of the fourth century, when Christian Missions first began to spread, the Roman prefecture of Gaul included Belgium and the greater part of Switzerland, but the present chapter deals only with that part of Gaul which now constitutes France.

Bishop Dionysius.

According to a statement of Gregory of Tours, a bishop named Dionysius was sent to Gaul, together with six other bishops, during the reign of the Emperor Decius (249-251).[1] Early in the ninth century Alcuin, abbot of the monastery of St. Dionysius, suggested that this Dionysius was identical with Dionysius the Areopagite, and declared that he was sent to Gaul by Clement of Rome; and at the Council of Constance in 1417 the claim was definitely advanced by the French bishops that their country was first evangelized by Dionysius the Areopagite, but the claim has no historical foundation. Other legends of a later date assert that Lazarus and Mary Magdalene first brought the Gospel to Gaul.[2]

Persecution at Lyons and Vienne, 177.

Of the beginnings of missionary work in Gaul we have no trustworthy information, the first clear indication that such work had been attempted and that a local Christian Church had been established being the account of the martyrdom of the aged bishop Pothinus, together with a number of other Christians, at Lyons in 177. This account is contained in a letter, part of which is preserved by Eusebius,[3] and was written

[1] *Historia Francorum*, Bk. i. 28.

[2] Bishop Lightfoot regards as deserving of consideration the tradition that Crescens, mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 10, was the founder of the churches of Vienne and Mayence. Γαλατία (or Γαλλία) in this passage was interpreted as denoting European Gaul by Eusebius, Epiphanius and Theodore. See Lightfoot's *Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 31 n.: see also *The Christian Church in Gaul*, by T. Scott Holmes, pp. 15 ff.

[3] *H. E.*, v. 1-3.

by some of the surviving Christians at Lyons and Vienne in order to acquaint their brethren in Asia with what had befallen their fellow-Christians. It is one of the most detailed and illuminating accounts of a Christian persecution that have come down to us, and, though it tells us nothing concerning the missionary work of which the persecution was the outcome, it affords evidence that this work had been effective. From the letter and from a few additional details supplied by Gregory of Tours we gather that the bishop and about a third of the martyrs, who numbered forty-eight,[1] bore Greek names and were probably Greeks, three at least being natives of Asia Minor. The deacon Sanctus, who was apparently the head of the Church in Vienne, was one of the martyrs. The first uprising against the Christians occurred in June 177. Slaves were tortured in order by their evidence to convict the Christians of abominable crimes, and the Christians who were arrested in Lyons and Vienne were exposed to the wild beasts, or subjected to cruel and prolonged torture in order to induce them to deny their faith, with the result that ten of them recanted through fear of torture.

Martyrdom of Pothinus,

The aged bishop[2] himself continued constant in the faith, and when, standing before the tribunal of the legate, he was asked by him who was the God of the Christians, he replied, "If thou art worthy thou shalt know." Two days later he died as the result of the ill-treatment to which he had been subjected. Another

and Blandina.

martyr whose name became celebrated was the servant-maid Blandina.[3] She remained constant under long-

[1] Gregory of Tours, *Lib. de gloria Martyrum*, chap. 48.

[2] He was ninety years old.

[3] See Homily by Eucherius of Lyons: Migne, *P. L.* l. 859.

protracted tortures, and after being tossed by wild bulls was at last killed by the blow of an executioner. In the case of Attalus, a Roman citizen of repute, who was one of the martyrs, his execution was deferred until direct authorization from the Emperor had been received by the legate. One of the survivors was Irenæus, the priest of Lyons, who had been ordained priest by Pothinus, and was afterwards consecrated by the bishop of Rome as the second bishop of Lyons. His episcopate served to connect the Gallic Church with the immediate successors of the Apostles, for, as he tells us, when staying with Polycarp at Smyrna he had heard him describe to the Christians at Smyrna his intercourse with St. John and with others who had seen the Lord.

Irenæus, Bp. of Lyons.

Two others who are said to have suffered martyrdom in 177 are Epipodius, a citizen of Lyons, and Alexander, a Greek.[1] Lightfoot considers that there is no improbability in the tradition that Benignus, who became the patron saint of Dijon, was sent by Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna (d. 155), to evangelize Gaul.[2] He is said to have suffered martyrdom with Andochius, his companion at Viviers.

Apart from the evidence afforded by the Greek names of the martyrs,[3] the language in which the letter is written, and which was used by Irenæus a little later, tends to show that the Church was at this time predominantly Greek. Moreover, half a century later, Greek, rather than Latin,[4] was the language of educated people in

The Church predominantly Greek.

[1] The earliest mention of their names is by Eucherius of Lyons, *circ.* 440. See also Gregory of Tours, *Liber de gloria Martyrum*, 49.

[2] *Apostolic Fathers*, i. 447.

[3] No Celtic names are included in the list.

[4] For an attempt to prove from

Southern Gaul,[1] but, on the other hand, Irenæus excuses himself from speaking Greek fluently on the ground that he had to preach in Celtic: he refers also to Christians and Churches amongst the Celts.

Other Christian Churches.

We gather also from Irenæus that at this time, apart from the Christian Churches or communities that were to be found at Lyons and Vienne, in the province of Narbonne, there were others in Aquitania, Germania, and the Celtic lands beyond the Loire. After referring to these, he writes, "In agreement with which are many barbarian nations who believe in Christ, having salvation written by the Spirit in their hearts, and not with ink or pen, who preserve, however, the ancient tradition with care."[2] Soon after the persecution at Lyons Symphorian was martyred at Autun,[3] of which his father was a senator. The words addressed to him by his mother, "Oh, my son, my son Symphorian, remember the living God: be of good courage, my son; to-day, by a happy exchange, thou wilt pass away to eternal life," are incorporated in the "Immolatio of the mass de Symphoriano" in the Gothic Missal.

St. Symphorian.

Ferreolus and Ferrutio.

Early in the third century a priest Ferreolus, and a deacon Ferrutio, are said to have suffered martyrdom at Besançon, and three other Christians at Valence, but the evidence for these martyrdoms is unsatisfactory.[4] Other references to the early establishment of Christian communities in Gaul are the statements of Sulpicius

the Biblical quotations in the letter that Christian worship was already conducted in Gaul in the Latin tongue see *Texts and Studies*, by J. A. Robinson, i. 2, pp. 97 f.

[1] Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, ii. 260 n.

[2] *contra Hæres.* iii. 4.

[3] For reference to St. Symphorian see Gregory of Tours, *De gloria Martyrum*, 76.

[4] See Duchesne, *Fastes Episcopaux*, i. pp. 48, 50-54.

Severus,[1] who writes: "Under Aurelius, the son of Antoninus, the fifth persecution broke out. And then for the first time martyrdoms were seen taking place in Gaul, for the religion of God had been accepted somewhat late beyond the Alps." The same writer, referring to the reign of Constantine, says: "It is marvellous how the Christian religion has prevailed."[2]

The author of the *Passio Saturnini* of Toulouse writes: "After the sound of the Gospel stole out gradually and by degrees (*sensim et gradatim*) into all the earth, and the preaching of the apostles shone throughout our country with but a slow progress, since only a few Churches in some of the States, and these containing but few Christians, stood up together in their devotion to their religion. . . ."[3] The *Passio Saturnini*.

It is probable that during the latter part of the second century and the early part of the third century Lyons formed the chief centre of missionary work in Gaul. Thus Duchesne writes: "All the Christians from the Rhine to the Pyrenees formed only a single community, and recognised but one chief, the bishop of Lyons."[4] Gregory of Tours, after referring to the persecution that occurred under the Emperor Decius, 249-251 A.D., says: "In the time of this man seven men were consecrated as bishops and sent[5] into Gaul to preach, as the story of the passion of the holy martyr Saturninus informs us. . . . There were sent to Tours Bishop Gatianus, to Arles Bishop Trophimus, to Nar- Lyons. Story of the seven bishops.

[1] *Chronica*, ii. 32.
[2] Ib. ii. 33.
[3] *Passio Saturnini*. Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, p. 177.
[4] *Fastes Episcopaux*, i. 39.
[5] Possibly by Fabian, who became bishop of Rome in 236 and was killed during the Decian persecution in 250.

bonne Bishop Paul, to Toulouse Bishop Saturninus, to Paris Bishop Dionysius, to Auvergne Bishop Stremonius, to Limoges Bishop Martial."[1] This tradition, which was well known throughout Gaul in the sixth century, has probably some historical basis, but if Churches were established at these places by the middle of the third century, their existence was in most cases subsequently interrupted. Of the work accomplished by these seven missionary bishops we know but little.

St. Gatianus.

Of Gatianus, who is said to have been the first bishop of Tours, Gregory writes: "In the first year of the Emperor Decius (249) Gatian was sent by the bishop of Rome as the first bishop (of Tours), in which city lived a multitude of pagans who were devoted to idolatry, some of whom he converted to the Lord by his preaching. But at times he concealed himself owing to the hostility of those in power . . . and in caverns and hiding-places together with the few Christians who had been converted by him he was wont to celebrate secretly the Holy Mystery, and in this city under these conditions he lived for forty years and died in peace."[2]

Again he writes: "Gatianus, Trophimus, Stremonius, Paulus and Martial, after living in the utmost sanctity and having gained peoples for the Church, and having spread the faith in all parts, departed by a good confession."[3] Of Trophimus, who is said to have become bishop of Arles, Gregory gives no detailed information. A later tradition identified him with Trophimus of Ephesus who was a companion of St. Paul. That a Christian Church existed at Arles by the middle

St. Trophimus.

[1] *Hist. Franc.* i. 28. Migne, *P. L.* lxxi. col. 175.

[2] *Hist. Franc.* x. 31. *Liber de gloria Confessorum*, 4.

[3] Id.

of the third century is proved by a letter which Cyprian addressed, in 253, to Stephen bishop of Rome, in which he accuses Marcianus bishop of Arles of having joined the Novatian schism. The fact that such an accusation was made, suggests that in the Decian persecution some of the Christians in Arles had lapsed from their profession of the Christian faith. If Trophimus is a historical character, he was probably a predecessor of this Marcianus.

A Church at Arles in 253.

Of Paulus Gregory tells us nothing beyond the fact that he was sent as bishop to Narbonne. The poet Prudentius, who wrote 200 years before the time of Gregory, in a brief reference to him, implies that he died as a martyr.[1] The account of his martyrdom given in the *Acta Sanctorum* for March 3 is of little historic value. A late and valueless tradition identifies him with Sergius Paulus.[2]

St. Paulus.

The story of the martyrdom of Saturninus in its present form does not probably date earlier than the ninth century, though the original may perhaps date from the fourth century.[3] According to the story, Saturninus, who had for some time preached against the idolatry of the people of Toulouse, was seized by them on the occasion of an idol festival and tied to a bull that was being led out for sacrifice. When bidden

St. Saturninus.

[1] "Surget et Paulo speciosa Narbo." *Peristephanon*, iv. 35. See Migne, *P. L.* lix.

[2] See *Martyrology of Ado*, who was bishop of Vienne, 860-75. See Migne, *P. L.* col. 201 ff.

[3] See Surius, Nov. 9. See also Duchesne, *Fastes Episcopaux*, i. p. 295. The Life was perhaps compiled by Exuperius bishop of Toulouse in 405. Gregory in his *History* (i. 28) says that Saturninus was sent from Rome in the third century, but in another place (*De gloria Martyrum*, i. 48) he suggests that he was sent by Clement in the first century.

by the people to offer sacrifice to the gods, he replied, "I know the one true God and will offer to Him the sacrifices of praise: your gods I know to be demons." He was then fastened by his feet to the bull, and after being dragged through the street died of the injuries that he had received.

St. Dionysius.

We have already referred to the legends which make Dionysius the Areopagite a bishop of Paris in the first century.[1] In a life of St. Genovefa, a heroine who helped to divert Attila from his meditated attack on Paris in 451, which in its original form may perhaps date back to the sixth century, it is stated that Dionysius was martyred in Paris. Gregory merely states that he was sent to Paris as a missionary bishop during the reign of Decius. The martyrology of Usuard of Paris (*circ.* 875) states that he was sent by the bishop of Rome to preach the Gospel in Gaul, and that he suffered martyrdom on Oct. 9, together with a priest named Rusticus and a deacon named Eleutherius. A similar statement occurs in the martyrologies of Jerome and of Ado.[2] There seems little reason to doubt that these traditions refer to a genuine historical character, but of the nature of his missionary labours we know nothing.

St. Stremonius.

Of Stremonius, or Austremonius, of Auvergne or Clermont, Gregory apparently knew nothing but the name.[3] Sidonius Apollinaris, who became bishop of Clermont in 471, does not refer to Stremonius, but he

[1] See above, p. 163.

[2] See below, p. 588.

[3] *Hist. Franc.* i. 28. *Liber de gloria Confessorum*, xxx.; Præjectus, a bishop of Clermont in the eighth century, wrote a life of Austremonius, but this has no historical value. The reputed tomb of Austremonius was at Issoire.

speaks of a monk named Abraham who was born on the Euphrates and worked as a missionary among the mountains and valleys of Auvergne.[1] Abraham.

Of Martial Gregory writes that he was sent by the bishop of Rome to preach in Limoges, and that "having destroyed the superstitious rites connected with the worship of their images, and having filled the town with believers in the true God, he departed this life." Gregory further states that he had come from the East. Venantius Fortunatus, writing at the end of the sixth century, refers to his tomb at Limoges. St. Martial.

A doubtful tradition states that the see of Auxerre was founded about 257 by Peregrinus who was martyred under Aurelian.[2] The first bishop of Auxerre of whom we have any certain knowledge is Amator, who died in 418. The disturbed state of Gaul,[3] and the intermittent persecutions which took place during the third quarter of the third century rendered the task of Christian propaganda difficult, and apparently but little progress was attained during this period. The list of martyrs includes the names of Pontius,[4] who suffered at Cimiez, near Nice, of Reverianus,[5] a bishop, and Paulus, a priest, and ten companions who suffered under Aurelian at Autun[6]; of Patroclus,[7] Julia and See of Auxerre. Early martyrs.

[1] Sidonius Apoll. vii. 17; Migne, *P. L.* viii. col. 587. Gregory, *Hist. Franc.* ii. 21, "qui fide atque operibus Abrahæ illius prioris refulgebat." See also id. *Vitæ Patrum*, iii.

[2] Duchesne, *Fastes Episcopaux*, ii. 430.

[3] From 254 to 309 Gaul was subjected to repeated incursions of barbarians, which resulted in the depopulation of many of the Eastern districts. Eutropius (ix. 23) states that on one occasion Constantius Chlorus killed 60,000 Alemans at Langres.

[4] See *Acta SS.*, May 14, vol. iii. p. 274.

[5] *Acta SS.*, June 1.

[6] A bishop of Autun named Reticius was present at the Synod of Rome in 313.

[7] *Acta SS.*, Jan. 21.

several others at Troyes ;[1] of Sanctianus, Augustinus, Felice, Aubertus[2] and Savinian[3] at Lens.

The persecution of the Christians in Gaul ceased for a time at the death of Aurelian in 275. Diocletian, who became Emperor in 284, was at first not ill-disposed towards the Christians. Maximian, however, who became the colleague of Diocletian and the ruler of the western portion of the Empire in 286 A.D., was a strict disciplinarian and greatly resented the growth of Christianity in the army, and the refusal of the Christian soldiers to obey orders unconditionally. When he set out from Milan in 286 to quell some risings which had occurred in Gaul, he is reported to have taken with him a cohort of a legion that had been raised in the Thebaid district in Egypt, and that consisted largely, or entirely, of Christians. Whilst marching down the Rhone valley and before reaching the lake of Geneva, these soldiers learned that they were being led to attack some peasantry in Gaul who had been compelled by misery and hunger to rise, and many of whom were Christians. When the Thebaid soldiers and their officers ventured to protest, Maximian ordered every tenth man to be killed, and after the cohort had been a second time decimated without result he ordered the whole cohort to be put to death. An account of this massacre is given by Eucherius, bishop of Lyons (434-449).[4] In later times the cohort, which was at first reported to have consisted of 600 men, became magnified by tradition to a regiment containing 6000. This story, although it was generally accepted by later

The Thebaid legion.

[1] *Acta SS.*, July 21.
[2] *Acta SS.*, Sep. 7.
[3] See Migne, *P. L.*, cxlii., col. 777.
[4] See *Passio Agaunensium martyrum.* Migne, *P. L.* l. 827 ; also Gregory, *De gloria Martyrum*, i. 76.

writers, cannot be regarded as history, though it has certainly an historical foundation. Harnack refers to it as "entirely unauthentic."[1] During the time that Maximian spent in Gaul and Britain a number of Christians, most of whom were soldiers or officers, suffered as martyrs. Of these the best known were Victor[2] of Marseilles, Genesius[3] of Arles, Julian and Ferreolus[4] of Vienne, and Rogatianus and his brother Donatianus[5] of Nantes. The records of their martyrdom are of comparatively late date, but of the fact there can be no doubt. The persecution ended in 292 A.D., when Constantius Chlorus received the title of Cæsar and became the ruler of Britain, Gaul, and Spain. When the Diocletian persecution occurred in 303 A.D. the presence of Constantius in Gaul prevented the edicts ordering persecution from becoming effective in that country.[6] In 313 A.D. the Edict of Milan, issued by Constantine and Licinius, which secured to the Christians a recognized legal status, was probably followed in Gaul, as elsewhere, by large accessions to the Church. At the Council of Arles, which was summoned by Constantine in 314 A.D., in order to adjudicate on the Donatist controversy that had arisen in North Africa,

Other martyrs.

Council of Arles, 314

[1] *Expansion of Christianity*, p. 267 n.

[2] *Passio Victorii*, Ruinart, p. 333. Victor's brave endurance of torture is said to have led to the conversion of three other soldiers, Alexander, Longinus and Felicianus. Gregory of Tours refers to his tomb in Marseilles. *De gloria Confessorum*, lvi. Migne, *P. L.* lxxi. col. 369.

[3] See Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, iv.; Gregory, *De gloria Martyrum* 68.

[4] Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 489; Gregory, *De virtute Sancti Juliani*, i.; Venantius Fortunatus, *Ep.* viii. 4; Sidonius Apoll. *Ep.* vii. 1.

[5] Gregory, *De gloria Martyrum*, 59; Ruinart, p. 321.

[6] That the Diocletian persecution did not become effective in Gaul may be gathered from the fact that at a later date the African Donatists besought Constantine that they might be tried by Gallican bishops, as these had never been tempted to become "traditores."

twelve bishops from the province of Gaul were present, the titles of their sees being Arles, Trèves, Autun, Rouen, Rheims, Cologne, Lyons, Marseilles, Vienne, Vaison (Vasensis), and Bordeaux. Among those present at the Council were also a priest from the city of Orange and a deacon from the town of Javols in the Cevennes.[1] There is no reason to suppose that the dioceses from which the Gallican bishops came possessed any strict geographical limits, but the names of their sees suggest that Christianity had been rapidly spreading throughout the whole of Gaul. The eighteenth canon passed by the Council, that "Urban deacons are to do nothing without the knowledge of the priests who are set over them," may perhaps be interpreted as referring to missionary activities inaugurated by Churches in the towns or cities.

Only one Gallican bishop is known to have been at the Council of Nicæa (325), but it is possible that others were present whose names have not been recorded.[2]

Athanasius in Gaul, 336.

In 336 Athanasius arrived at Trèves in Gaul, whither he had been banished by Constantine, but on the death of Constantine he returned to Alexandria in 338.

A later indication of the spread of Christianity in Gaul is afforded by the fact that thirty-four Gallican bishops joined in the decree of acquittal of Athanasius at the Council of Sardica in 343-344,[3] but

[1] See Mansi, *Concil.* ii. 463. The dioceses of Tours, Toulouse and Narbonne were apparently unrepresented at this Council.

[2] Referring to this bishop, Harnack writes: "If even a small town like Dié had a bishop in 325 A.D., we must assume that the episcopate was much more widely spread throughout Gaul than we are able to prove in detail." *Expansion of Christianity*, ii. p. 266 n.

[3] Mansi, *Conc.* iii. 42.

possibly this number included the representatives from Spain.[1]

Mansuetus, who is said to have been the first bishop of Toul, is represented as an Irishman who became a disciple of St. Peter and was sent by him to be bishop of Toul and to convert the Leuci. The chief authority for the story is a *Life of Mansuetus* by Adso, published in the tenth century. If there be any truth in the story it probably concerns an Irish missionary who preached at Toul in the fourth or fifth century.

Mansuetus.

In 353 Constantius, who had become sole Emperor, spent the winter at Arles, and as a result of his influence the bishop of Arles and several other Gallican bishops became Arians. Hilary, who had been consecrated as bishop of Poitiers about 350, came forward as a champion of the orthodox faith, and having been condemned by an Arian Council, which met at Beziers,[2] was banished to Phrygia in 356. During his exile he wrote a work in twelve volumes which he called *De Fide* (afterwards called *De Trinitate*), which was intended to explain and refute the teachings of Arius for the benefit of the Gallican Christians. In 360 a meeting of Gallican bishops at Paris acknowledged their previous error and repudiated Arianism, and in 361 Hilary returned to find that the orthodox faith was once again accepted throughout Gaul. Till his death in 368 he was the guide and leader of the Gallican Church.

Hilary writes against teaching of Arians.

There can be little doubt that during the last seven years of his life he endeavoured to spread the faith

[1] On the presence of Gaulish or British bishops at Sardica, see Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, p. 125, note 1.

[2] A town near the sea-coast not far from Narbonne.

amongst the pagans who were still to be found in Gaul, but unhappily no record of his missionary activities has been preserved. The bitter disputes between the Arian and the orthodox Christians, and later on between the orthodox party and the Priscillianists, must greatly have interfered with the extension of missionary work throughout Gaul.

Martin of Poitiers.

In 356 A.D. Martin, a native of Upper Pannonia (now included in Hungary), who had attained the rank of a military tribune, obtained his discharge from the army and arrived at Poitiers. The well-known incident of his cutting his military cloak in half in order to supply the wants of a beggar at Amiens[1] belongs to the previous year. After a brief stay at Poitiers Martin set out to cross the Alps in the hope of converting his parents in Pannonia, who were still pagans,[2] and, after being instrumental in the conversion of his mother, he lived for two years as a hermit in company with a single priest on the island of Gallinaria, near Alassio. After the return of Hilary to Poitiers in 361 Martin founded a monastery at Locociacum (afterwards known as Ligugé), near Poitiers,[3] and in 372 he became

[1] The story as told by Sulpicius (*Vita*, iii.) is briefly this. Noticing a beggar at the gate of the city of Amiens who was ill-clad and suffering from the cold, Martin, who had no money to give, drew his sword and, cutting his military cloak in two, gave half to the beggar. The same night Christ appeared to him in a vision clad in the half of the coat that he had given to the beggar, and said to the angels who stood with him, "Martin, still a catechumen, covered Me with this robe." Soon afterwards, at the age of eighteen, he was baptized.

[2] A brigand who attacked him in the course of this journey is said to have been converted by his preaching. *Cf.* Fortunatus, *Vita Mart.* 81.

[3] "It was the first monastery in Gaul, the pattern probably of many later groups of little cells, a place which St. Patrick must have seen, the forerunner of Bangor, Clonmacnois, Iona, Inysvitryn and Lindisfarne."—Holmes, *The Christian Church in Gaul*, p. 195.

bishop of Tours, at which place he remained till his death twenty-five years later. Soon after he became bishop he founded the monastery of Marmoutier, about two miles from Tours. This, which was the second monastery founded in Gaul, became the training home of many of those to whom the evangelization of Gaul was ultimately due. At one time during his episcopate he had eighty monks living with him at Marmoutier.[1]

Monastery of Marmoutier.

His biographer makes brief allusions to his missionary labours in a wide circuit round Tours, but devotes much time and space to recording the miracles that he is supposed to have wrought, the details of which we could well have spared if only we could have learned more concerning his missionary methods and experiences.

Martin's missionary labours.

"From Saintes to Trèves and from Paris to Brioude the whole central district of Gaul was the scene of his labours as an evangelist.[2] It was probably as abbot of Ligugé that he evangelized the future dioceses of Angoulême and Saintes. It was certainly when he was a bishop that he preached the Gospel over the districts which afterwards became the dioceses of Blois, Orleans, Mâcon, Chalon-sur-Saône, and in the dioceses, then without their bishops, of Langres and Autun. . . . The weird and densely wooded districts between the ranges of the Morvan and the Côte d'Or, between Avallon and Dijon, Dijon and Beaune as far as Autun,

[1] The earliest and only contemporary authority for the life of Martin is Sulpicius Severus, who had known him intimately, and wrote a Life, Letters and Dialogues. The Life abounds in miracles, many of which are of a puerile character, but in the occurrence of which his biographer evidently believed—*cf.* his statement, "alioquin tacere quam falsa dicere maluissem."

[2] There are 3675 churches in France dedicated to St. Martin; see Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, ii. 15.

and westward also to the Loire, claim to be the scene of his labours." [1]

Some conception of his missionary activities can be obtained from the statements of Gregory that he built churches at Langeais and Sonnay near Tours, at Amboise, Tournon, Candes and Ciran la Lutte; he mentions also traces of his work or his cult at Bourges, Brives la Gaillarde in Corrèze, Brévat, Bordeaux, Cavaillon, Marsas in Gironde, Néris in Allier, Paris, Trois Châteaux, Casignan in Deux Sèvres and Mareuil on the Cher. Monuments reminiscent of his missionary activities are also to be found in Burgundy, Nivernais and Forez and in several other districts.

The pagan people at Chartres, according to Sulpicius, were induced to abandon their idols and accept the Christian faith after witnessing the restoration to life of a dead man as the result of Martin's prayers.[2] At a village called Leprosum,[3] where the people had resisted his attempts to destroy their richly-endowed temple, Martin, having sat by the temple for three days in sackcloth and ashes, secured by his prayers the help of two angels whose appearance influenced the people to allow the destruction of their temple and idols and eventually resulted in their conversion to the faith.

In another village,[4] after Martin had set fire to a very ancient and celebrated temple, the flames began to spread to an adjacent house, but were miraculously stayed by his intervention. Whatever credence we may give to the miraculous powers exercised by Martin, the above incidents, recorded, as they were, by a con-

[1] *The Christian Church in Gaul*, pp. 210 f.
[2] *Dialogues*, ii. 4.
[3] *Vita*, c. xiv.
[4] Id.

temporary writer, testify to his missionary zeal, and to his success in uprooting pagan worship.

His destruction of idols and temples.

On many different occasions he took a leading part in the destruction of idols or heathen temples, and in several instances the people to whom he preached destroyed these at his instigation, and erected in their places churches for Christian worship. To quote a single instance out of many recorded by Sulpicius: "There was in a certain village (apparently in Burgundy) an ancient temple and a tree which was regarded as specially sacred. Although the pagans had consented to the destruction of the temple, they refused to allow Martin to cut down the tree. At length one of them suggested that if the bishop believed in the power of his God to protect him he should stand on the spot where the tree was likely to fall, while he and his companions cut it down. Martin accepted the proposal with alacrity, and stood on the spot suggested by the pagans. When, however, the tree fell, it fell amongst the people and left Martin standing unhurt." [1] The incident was followed by the introduction of Christianity into what had previously been a heathen district.

A sacred tree.

The Celtic language.

There is no evidence to show that Martin was acquainted with the Celtic language, which by his time was gradually being superseded by the Latin from which modern French has been derived. By the beginning of the sixth century the Celtic language had passed into disuse.[2] Its rapid disappearance was partly due to the fact that the soldiers, the slaves and the various immigrants into France seldom troubled to learn it.

[1] *Vita Mart.* 13.

[2] See Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, i. 388; ii. 250.

The spread of Christianity and the recognition of Latin as the official language of the Church also tended to hasten its disappearance.

Martin's fame in England.

The life of Martin soon became known in Britain,[1] and the one Christian church which Augustine found on his arrival at Canterbury had been dedicated to his memory. Archdeacon Hutton, after referring to the life of St. Giles, a hermit who lived in the Rhone valley in the seventh century, writes: "The influence of Giles and Martin was characteristically Gallican, and it was strong and impressive. Most nobly did the English revere the saint who was soldier and missionary. In him there was always before them the example of stern simplicity, an absolute truthfulness, an absorbing missionary zeal." [2]

His life and character.

Martin's biographer writes: "No one ever saw him enraged, or excited, or lamenting, or laughing: he was always one and the same, displaying a kind of heavenly happiness in his countenance, he seemed to have passed the ordinary limits of human nature. Never was there any word on his lips but Christ." [3] Again, referring to his humility, he writes: "When sitting in his retirement he never used a chair, and as to the church, no one ever saw him sitting there, as I recently saw a certain man, not without a feeling of shame at the spectacle, seated on a lofty throne . . . but Martin

[1] Venantius Fortunatus, writing about 580 A.D., says of Martin, "Quem Hispanus, Maurus, Persa, Britannus amat." See Haddan and Stubbs, i. 13.

[2] *The English Saints*, p. 101.

[3] "Nemo unquam illum vidit iratum nemo commotum, nemo maerentem nemo ridentem: unus idemque fuit semper, cœlestem quodammodo lætitiam vultu præferens, extra naturam hominis videbatur."—*Sulp. Sev. Vita*, c. 27. The words "nemo ridentem" ought not, perhaps, to be interpreted literally.

might be seen sitting on a rude little (three-legged) stool." [1]

A further explanation of the marvellous spiritual influence which Martin exerted, alike upon his fellow-Christians and upon the heathen, is to be found in the statement of his biographer: "Never did a single hour or moment pass in which he was not either actually engaged in prayer; or, if it happened that he was occupied with something else, still he never let his mind loose from prayer." It would have been a miracle greater than any of those in which his biography abounds if his unceasing prayers had not been productive of far-reaching results.

His belief in the powers of evil.

To Martin, more perhaps than to any other great missionary whose biography has been preserved, the struggle between the forces of good and evil was as real as though these forces had been visible to his bodily eyes. He constantly asserted that not only saints who had lived in the past, but the devil and his angels, appeared in bodily form and conversed with him. It may well have been that his success as a missionary was partly due to the fact that the victories which he believed himself to have won over the powers of evil during his long hours of prayer gave him the assurance of divine support which was the immediate cause of his missionary triumphs amongst his heathen neighbours. That his belief in the saving efficacy of divine love knew no limits may be gathered from one of his reported conversations with the devil, who had urged that "for those who fall after baptism into mortal sin there is no mercy," in response to which suggestion

[1] *Dialogues*, ii. 1.

Martin cried aloud: "If thou thyself, wretched being, shouldst abstain from attacking mankind, and even now when the day of judgment is at hand, shouldst repent of thy wicked deeds, I would myself fearlessly promise thee the mercy of Christ with perfect confidence in the Lord."[1]

His visions.

The most celebrated of Martin's visions is that in which the devil appeared to him clad in royal apparel and, with golden sandals on his feet, asked from him the homage due to Christ. "Recognize," said Martin's visitor, "whom you look upon. I am Christ, and I have come down to earth to reveal myself to you." As Martin, dazzled by his appearance, preserved a long silence, he added, "Acknowledge, O Martin, who it is that you behold. I am Christ, and, being about to descend to the earth, I desired first to manifest myself to you." Martin continued silent, whereupon his visitor continued, "Why do you hesitate to believe when you see? I am Christ." Then Martin replied, "The Lord Jesus did not predict that He would come clad in purple and with a glittering diadem on His head. I will not believe that Christ has come unless He wears that garb and form in which He suffered and displays before me the marks of His passion." On hearing this, his visitor vanished and Martin realized that he had been speaking to the devil. Sulpicius states that he heard this story from Martin's own mouth.[2] In this instance, and in the case of many of the visions of Martin and his contemporaries, it is a matter of no great moment to decide how far any objective character can be attributed to them. In whatever way we interpret the

[1] *Vita*, c. xxii.

[2] *Vita*, xxiv.

forms in which they were embodied, the lessons which they helped to emphasise are of permanent import. Dr. Newman, commenting upon this vision, wrote: "The application of this vision to Martin's age is obvious: I suppose it means in this day that Christ comes not in pride of intellect or reputation for philosophy. These are the glittering robes in which Satan is now arraying. Many spirits are abroad, more are issuing from the pit; the credentials which they display are the precious gifts of mind, beauty, richness, depth, originality. Christians look hard at them with Martin in silence and ask them for the print of the nails." [1]

Victricius.

Another missionary bishop, a younger contemporary of Martin, and who, like him, had served in the army, was Victricius, bishop of Rouen. Paulinus of Nola,[2] writing to him about 398, congratulates him on having been chosen by God to spread the light amongst the forests and wild districts of the Morini, which were inhabited by barbarians and brigands. Two letters have been preserved that were written by Pope Innocent I[3] about 405 to Victricius and to another bishop, Exuperius of Toulouse, giving them advice in regard to work in their dioceses.

Honoratus of Lerins.

In or about 400,[4] ten years after the death of Martin, a Roman patrician named Honoratus landed on the island of Lerins, not far from Toulon, and founded a monastery which soon became famous as a missionary college, a centre of learning, and "a nursery of bishops and saints who were destined to spread over the whole of Gaul the knowledge of the Gospel and the glory of

[1] *The Church of the Fathers*, by J. H. Newman.

[2] See *Epp.* xix. and xxxvii.; Migne, *P. L.* lxi.

[3] Migne, *P. L.* lv.

[4] See above, p. 9.

Lerins."[1] To those who had gone forth as missionaries or as monks his letters, written on parchment or tablets which had been smeared with wax,[2] brought sweetest memories of their great teacher. Amongst those who were trained at Lerins may be mentioned Vincent of Lerins,[3] Salvian, Lupus of Troyes (383-479),[4] and Cæsarius of Arles (470-542).

St. Germanus.

Germanus, who became bishop of Auxerre in 418, had the honour of consecrating Ireland's great missionary bishop who had been ordained priest by his predecessor Amator. We have already referred to his visit to Britain in 429,[5] which was undertaken by him and Lupus of Troyes at the request of Pope Celestine and apparently at the suggestion of Palladius.[6] He died at Ravenna in 449.

Abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles.

Another chief centre of monastic life from which many missionary-hearted workers went forth to labour in Gaul was the Abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles, which was founded by John Cassian (d. 432). Soon after its foundation the number of its monks was reckoned at five thousand.

Invasion of Vandals, Alans, and Sueves.

On the last day of the year 406 an army of Vandals, Alans, and Sueves crossed the Rhine and began the invasion of Gaul. The invaders were pagans, and as they advanced westwards they massacred a large part of the population and spread ruin and desolation around

[1] Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, i. 465.

[2] "Cera illitis litteris." *Vita Honorati*, by Hilary, c. 22.

[3] He was the author of *Commonitorium Peregrini* (434 A.D.), in which first occurs the definition of orthodoxy, "quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est."

[4] In answer to his demand addressed to Attila at the gates of Troyes, the king of the Huns replied: "I am Attila, the scourge of God."

[5] See above, p. 93.

[6] Prosper, *Chronicon*, anno 429.

them. In, or about, 411 Patrick, who had recently escaped from his captivity in Ireland, landed, probably at the mouth of the River Loire, in order to reach Italy *via* Aquitaine. In his *Confessions* he speaks of wandering across country which had been deprived of all means of subsistence, and during a whole month's travel he seems only once to have met with any remaining trace of civilisation.[1]

Jerome[2] (in 409), referring to Aquitaine, says that, as a result of this invasion, in the four provinces of Lyons and the two of Narbonne there were but few cities left with any inhabitants : as for Toulouse he could not mention it without shedding tears. In a poem attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine the writer declares that if the entire ocean had been poured out upon the fields of Gaul the destruction would not have been so complete as was that wrought by these invaders.[3]

Orientius,[4] bishop of Auch, says that the whole of Gaul smoked like one funeral pyre. Salvian,[5] writing a few years later at Marseilles, uses similar language.

In 409 the Vandals and their allies passed on into Aquitaine and Spain, and the Lyons provinces, which had suffered most from their invasion, had a brief

[1] *Confessio*, c. 3 : "xxviii dies per desertum iter fecimus et cibus defuit illis et fames invaluit super eos . . . difficile est unquam ut aliquem hominem videamus." See also Letter of Jerome to Ageruchia, 123.

[2] *Ep. ad Ageruchiam*, 123 ; Migne, *P. L.* xxii. col. 1058.

[3] "Tot loca, tot populi, quid meruere mali ?
Si totus Gallos sese effudisset in agros
Oceanus, vastis plus superesset aquis."
—Migne, *P.L.* li. col. 617.

[4] "Per vicos villas, per rura et compita et omnes.
Per pagos, totis inde vel inde viis,
Mors, dolor, excidium, strages, incendia, luctus.
Uno fumavit Gallia tota rogo."
—*Commonitorium*, ii. 181 ; Migne, *P. L.* lxi. col. 995.

[5] *De gub. Dei.*, vi. 15 ; Migne, *P. L.* liii. col. 125.

respite. In 412 the Visigoths, who had conquered Rome two years before, invaded Southern Gaul. In 451 Attila and his Huns crossed the Rhine and captured Metz, all the inhabitants of which he massacred. After he had devastated a huge section of Eastern Gaul, his progress was checked near Orleans, and he retired again across the Rhine.

Attila, 451.

The Burgundians.

Amongst those who invaded Gaul from the east in 407 was a section of the Burgundian people. These were the first people of German race to embrace Catholic Christianity. When first heard of they were settled between the Oder and the Vistula.[1] Ammianus[2] refers to their advance across Upper Germany in 370. Moving towards the south-west they defeated the Alemanni and occupied the left bank of the Rhine from Mainz to Worms. Another section of them apparently crossed the Rhine in 406 in company with the Vandals. In 437, when their leader Gundakar was killed, a large part of the Burgundians in Gaul were destroyed. In 473 the Burgundian kingdom was divided into four, the headquarters of the separate divisions being at Geneva, Besançon, Lyons and Vienne, but it was again reunited under Gundibald, who died in 516. In 534 it was incorporated into the Frankish Empire.[3]

Orosius, writing about 417, soon after the Burgundians had occupied the left bank of the Rhine, says, "By

[1] For a description of the social and political characteristics of the Burgundians see Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, ii. 53, 86 ff.

[2] Amm. *Marcell*, xxviii. 5, 9.

[3] See *Geschichte der Burgundionem*, by Jahn; also Hauck's *K. D.* i. 97-102. The Burgundian kingdom had extended from Dijon and the upper waters of the Yonne as far as the Mediterranean; see Greg. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 32.

God's providence they all became Christians, holding the catholic faith, and dealt kindly with our clergy, to whom they rendered obedience, and they lead gentle, kind and innocent lives and do not treat the Gauls as subjects but in truth as Christian brothers." [1]

Conversion of the Western Burgundians,

The Eastern Burgundians decided in 430 to follow their example, and, having sent for a bishop (probably Crotowald of Worms) to instruct them in the Christian faith, they were baptized in a body after a week's instruction. According to Socrates the motive which prompted the Eastern Burgundians to seek for baptism was political rather than religious.

and of the Eastern Burgundians.

The following is his account of their conversion, which is, however, of doubtful historical value. He writes :—

"I will now relate a thing worthy to be recorded which happened about this time. There is a barbarous nation which has its abode beyond the river Rhine, called the Burgundians. These people lead a quiet life; for they are, for the most part, wood-cutters, by which they earn wages and get a livelihood. The nation of the Huns, by making continual inroads upon this people, depopulated their district. The Burgundians, therefore, reduced to great straits, sought not the help of any man, but resolved to entrust themselves for protection to some god, and having taken note of the fact that the God of the Romans afforded strong assistance to those that feared Him, they all,

[1] Orosius, vii. 32, 12. "Eorum esse prævalidam et perniciosam manum, Galliæ hodieque testes sunt in quibus præsumpta possessione consistunt; quamvis providentia Dei Christiani omnes modo facti catholica fide nostrisque clericis quibus obedirent, receptis blande mansuete innocenterque vivant non quasi cum subjectis Gallis sed vere cum fratribus Christianis."

by a general consent, came over to the faith of Christ. Repairing accordingly to one of the cities of Gaul, they requested the bishop that they might receive Christian baptism. The bishop ordered them to fast for seven days, and having instructed them in the grounds of the faith, on the eighth day baptized and dismissed them. Being encouraged thereby, they marched out against the Huns, and were not deceived in their expectation; for the king of the Huns, whose name was Optar, having burst himself in the night by over-eating, the Burgundians suddenly fell upon the Huns, who were destitute of a commander, and, few though they were, engaged and conquered very many. For the Burgundians being in number only three thousand, destroyed about ten thousand of the Huns. And from that time the nation of the Burgundians became zealous professors of Christianity."[1]

Burgundians as Arians.

A few years later the main body of the Burgundians moved away from the Rhine in the direction of the Rhone. When they first settled in the neighbourhood of the Rhine they became catholic Christians, but later, influenced probably by the Visigoths, who were Arians, the whole tribe, or at least that portion of it over which Gundibald ruled, became Arians.

Conversion of Clovis, 496.

In 493 Chlodovech, or Clovis, as he is more generally called, who had by a series of campaigns made himself king of the Franks, married the Christian princess Hrothilde, who was a daughter of the Burgundian king Hilperik. Three years later, when in great danger in the course of a campaign against the

[1] *Socrates Scholast.* vii. 30. Migne, *P. Gr.* lxvii. col. 805. For a reference to the Burgundians in Switzerland see p. 313.

Alemanni, he invoked the aid of Hrothilde's God, and, the campaign having proved a success, he became ready to listen to his wife's entreaties that he should become a Christian. His baptism, the date of which forms a landmark in the spread of Christianity in Northern Europe, took place at Rheims on Christmas Day 496.[1] When Bishop Remigius was about to administer the sacrament of baptism he said to the king: "Bow thy neck in humility, O Sicambrian; accept as an object of worship that which thou wast wont to destroy, and burn that which once thou didst worship." The Christians throughout Gaul at this time were sharply divided into catholics and Arians, and the subsequent victories which Clovis gained were largely due to the assistance rendered to him by the catholic Christians who had suffered much at the hands of their Arian persecutors.

Organization of the Gallican Church.

By the end of the sixth century the Church throughout Gaul was organized on a territorial basis, and the work of the pioneer missionaries was practically completed. There were, however, some considerable areas in which heathenism still flourished,[2] and in one of these the Irish saint Columbanus,[3] estab-

Columbanus.

[1] This is the generally accepted date. Prof. Bury, Dr A. Hauck and Dr B. Krusch maintain that the baptism took place at Tours in 507. For arguments for and against this suggestion see Scott Holmes, *The Christian Church in Gaul*, pp. 330 f.

[2] The bishops who welcomed Rhadegund to the monastery which she founded at Poitiers in the second half of the sixth century refer to Aquitaine as a district which had but recently been converted to Christianity.

[3] The earliest Life of Columbanus is that written by Jonas, a native of Northern Italy, and a monk of Bobbio, *circ.* 642 A.D. He had not himself seen Columbanus, who died in 615, but he claims to have obtained the information which he records from those who had known Columbanus well. His Life includes a number of miracles. The best critical in-

lished a monastery and carried on his missionary work.

Columbanus, who was of noble, if not of royal, parentage, was born in West Leinster in 543, and received a liberal education in grammar, rhetoric, geometry, and the study of Holy Scripture.[1] The stern ascetic spirit in which his lifework was accomplished may be illustrated by the farewell scene between him and his mother. When as a very young man he asked her permission to become a monk, she was overcome with grief and threw herself to the ground on the threshold of the door, and it was across her prostrate form that he set forth to seek a monastery in which he might obtain the training for his future work.

His arrival in Gaul, 573.

After spending some years in the monastery of Bangor (near Belfast) he crossed to Brittany,[2] about 573, with twelve companions, and after labouring there for some time as a missionary, he eventually presented himself before Sigibert of Austrasia and asked his permission to settle in some barren and uncared-for district in Gaul, the north-eastern portion of which had suffered terribly from the irruption of

troduction to the Life of Columbanus is that by Bruno Krusch in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vol. iv. Krusch speaks of him as holding "locum primarium inter prædicatores gentium." The writings of Columbanus that have been preserved consist of a Monastic Rule in ten chapters, a book on the measure of penances, seventeen short sermons and five letters, and a commentary on the Psalms. These, with the exception of the last, are printed in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, lxxx. pp. 201 ff. The authorship of the sermons and the monastic Rule has been challenged.

[1] The acts of healing which Jonas regarded as miraculous (cf. *Vita*, i. 15) suggest that he had also studied medicine.

[2] That Columbanus went direct to Brittany and did not pass through Britain appears to have been established by Zimmer; see Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vi. 112 n. For arguments in favour of a contrary view see art. by L. Gougaud, in *Annales de Bretagne*, T. xxxi., Jan. 1907.

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barbarian invaders.[1] The spot in which Columbanus and his companions settled lies on the western side of the Vosges mountains, in what was then called the Jura district, and near the old Roman camp of Anagrates.[2] They could have found no wilder or less inviting district, and for a considerable time they suffered pangs of hunger and were in danger of starvation.[3] The name of one of those who helped them in a time of distress, Carantoc, suggests that Columbanus was not the first monk of Celtic origin[4] to settle in this district. Jonas records many miracles that were said to have been wrought in order to supply the wants of the monks, and he describes the miraculous control that Columbanus exerted upon the wild beasts whose lairs he invaded in order to find seclusion in which to pray. Despite the hardships which the monks had to endure, their number continued to increase, and after a few years they began to build on a larger scale at Luxeuil (Luxovium), about eight miles to the south. The site was granted by the king, Childebert II., but no permission was obtained or asked from the bishop of Besançon, in whose diocese the new building was erected.

Difficulties and hardships.

Monastery at Luxeuil.

The establishment of this monastery involved the breach of a rule the observance of which, as subsequent history was destined to show, was of vital importance

[1] Cf. Jonas' *Life of Columbanus*, c. 5, p. 71 : " Ob frequentiam hostium externorum vel neglegentiam præsulum religionis virtus pene abolita habebatur."

[2] Now Faucogney in Haute-Saône.

[3] The outfit of the Irish monks at this time consisted of a short staff (*camborta*), a leathern water-bottle, a wallet, a leathern case for service books, and a case containing relics. See *History of Christian Missions in the Middle Ages*, by Maclear, p. 134 n.

[4] According to a Welsh legend, one of the companions of Patrick was named Carantoc or Carranog—see *Monks of the West*, iii. 80.

to the well-being of the Christian Church alike in Gaul and in other countries. It does not come within the scope of this book to discuss the influence exerted by the monastic system upon the organization and development of the Christian Church in the Middle Ages, but few would dispute the statement that the failure of the monks to live up to the high ideals of their founders was largely due to the fact that their abbots, having repudiated the authority and control of the diocesan bishops,[1] became a law unto themselves and tended more and more towards the adoption of lower ideals and towards a life which was isolated from the activities and spiritual influences of the Church as a whole. The refusal of Columbanus to accept any kind of control on the part of the Gallic bishops was with him a matter of vital principle. His aim and that of his fellow-monks was not merely to live in the midst of Gallic Christianity and to exert a local missionary influence, but to wage war on the kind of Christianity which he found existing in Gaul.

Its independence of episcopal control.

Viewed from the missionary standpoint, the most permanent result of the work which he accomplished was this: he initiated in North-East Gaul the monastic movement, and from the monasteries founded and controlled by himself and his disciples went forth the missionaries who completed the nominal conversion of the country which lay to the north of 50° lat. and to the east of 2° E. long. He himself only founded three monasteries in Gaul, viz., Annegray, Luxeuil, and

Foundation of other monasteries.

[1] At the fifth Council of Arles held in 463, it had been decreed (canons 2 and 3) that abbots were subject to the bishop of the diocese in which their monasteries were situated, and that they were not to absent themselves from their monasteries without the consent of the bishop.

Fontaine, but more than fifty were founded by his followers, in which his Rule was observed. This Rule was chiefly remarkable for its severity, and was a sharp contrast to that of St. Benedict, with which it was afterwards frequently conjoined.[1]

In the light of subsequent history it is easy to decide that Columbanus committed an error of far-reaching importance in ignoring the authority of the Gallic bishops and in seeking to secure for his monasteries the independent position which they possessed in his native land. Before, however, we condemn his action, we need to remember the deplorable condition of Gallic episcopacy in his time and in the century which immediately followed. Bishops, who were in some cases laymen and had never been consecrated, regarded their dioceses as private estates, and bequeathed them to their friends or relations. Many of them lived as laymen and spent their lives in fighting, hunting and revelry. The result was the total demoralization of the Frankish Church in Northern Gaul, a demoralization which was accentuated by the evil lives of the Frankish kings, who were nominally Christians. Thus Montalembert, in *The Monks of the West*, writes of Clovis and the Frankish kings who succeeded him: "They were sad Christians. While they respected the freedom of the catholic faith, and made external profession of it, they violated without scruple all its precepts, and at the same time the simplest laws of humanity. After having prostrated themselves before the tomb of some holy martyr or confessor, after having

Deplorable condition of Gallic episcopacy.

Witness of Montalembert.

[1] The monastery founded at Solignac in 632 A.D. had as its rule, "Regula beatissimorum patrum Benedicti et Columbani." It was the first of many similar foundations.

distinguished themselves by the choice of an irreproachable bishop, after having listened respectfully to the voice of a pontiff or monk, we see them, sometimes in outbreaks of fury, sometimes by cold-blooded cruelties, give full course to the instincts of their savage nature. . . . In reading these bloody biographies, scarcely lightened by some transient gleams of faith or humility, it is difficult to believe that in embracing Christianity they gave up a single pagan vice or adopted a single Christian virtue." [1]

Witness of Boniface.

A century and a half later, in 742, in the course of a letter to Pope Zacharias, Boniface refers to the condition of the Frankish Church. He writes, "Ecclesiastical discipline for not less than sixty or seventy years has been trampled on and dissipated. . . . At the present time the episcopal sees in the several cities are for the most part handed over to greedy laics or adulterous clerics, to whoremongers and publicans, to enjoy as secular property." [2]

An extensive reformation of the Frankish Church dates from the joint-council held by Pepin and Carloman under the presidency of Boniface in 745.

Causes of moral degeneracy.

M. Lavisse, commenting on the low moral condition of the Franks at this era, ascribes it to the fact that a time of exceptional material prosperity coincided with a period in which all the restraints upon conduct that had been imposed by their old laws and religious beliefs had lost their former sanctions. At the same time their bishops and other Christian leaders were for the most part men of small education and weak character, and were wholly incapable of illustrating by

[1] Vol. ii. p. 235. [2] *Ep.* 50; Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix.

their conduct, or commending by their teaching, the Christian virtues.[1]

The much-needed reform of the Church was to come from men of another race, but it was not to come from the saintly Irish monks, who kept themselves untainted from the prevailing corruption by confining themselves for the most part to their monastic circles.

Letter of Columbanus to Frankish bishops.

The attitude of Columbanus towards the Frankish bishops and the loving spirit in which his work was carried on may be gathered from a letter addressed by him to a Frankish synod (in 602) which had remonstrated with him for not conforming to Gallic Church customs. In the course of the letter he wrote:—

"I came as a stranger amongst you in behalf of our common Lord and Master Jesus Christ. In His name I beseech you let me live in peace and quiet, as I have lived for twelve years in these woods beside the bones of my seventeen departed brethren. Let Gaul receive into her bosom all who, if they deserve it, will meet in one heaven. . . . Choose ye which rule respecting Easter ye prefer to follow, remembering the words of the Apostle, 'Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.' But let us not quarrel one with another, lest our enemies, the Jews, the heretics and pagan Gentiles rejoice in our contention. . . . Pray for us, my fathers, even as we, humble as we are, pray for you. Regard us not as strangers, for we are members together of one body, whether we be Gauls or Britons or Iberians, or to whatever nation we belong. Therefore, let us all rejoice in the knowledge of the faith and the re-

[1] *Histoire générale*, i. 157.

velation of the Son of God . . . in communion with whom let us learn to love one another and pray for one another." [1]

Columbanus expelled from Luxeuil.

The work of Columbanus at Luxeuil was eventually cut short (in 610) by Theodoric, the young king of the Burgundians, who was himself instigated by his grandmother, Brunichildis. Columbanus had again and again rebuked the gross immoralities of the king, who at length expelled him from his dominions and caused him to be placed on board a ship at Nantes which was bound for Ireland. The boat in which he descended the river Loire stopped at Tours and Columbanus spent the night praying at the tomb of St. Martin. The ship in which he eventually sailed met with a violent storm, whereupon the captain put the missionary and his four companions ashore and proceeded on his voyage without further difficulty. Columbanus then visited the king Chlothachar (Clothaire II.), in Neustria, who besought him to remain there. Leaving him, however, he passed on to King Theudebert of Austrasia, and thence made his way to Italy. The time spent by him in Gaul was twenty years. We refer later on to his work in Switzerland and in Italy.

His independence of Roman authority.

Columbanus started his missionary work entirely on his own initiative, and did not visit Rome until 610, after he had left Gaul. In one of his letters to Pope Gregory relating to the time of the observance of Easter, he displays his complete independence of ecclesiastical tradition when he urges the Pope not to feel bound by the decrees of his predecessor St. Leo on the ground that a living dog is better than a dead lion

[1] See *Epist.* ii.; Migne, vol. lxxx. col. 264 ff.

(leo), and suggests that a living saint may correct the omissions of one who went before him.[1]

A letter addressed to Boniface IV. shortly before his own death illustrates the attitude which the Celtic missionaries of his time adopted towards the bishops of Rome. He writes: "We Irish who inhabit the extremities of the world are the disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul and of the other apostles who have written under dictation of the Holy Spirit. We receive nothing more than the apostolic and evangelical doctrine. . . . Pardon me if . . . I have said some words offensive to pious ears. The native liberty of my race has given me that boldness. With us it is not the person, it is the right which prevails."[2]

Character of Columbanus.

His character was a strange combination of ardent faith and angry impatience. Where in the biographies of missionaries could we find a nobler ideal than that expressed in these words which he is said to have used, "Whosoever overcomes himself treads the world underfoot: no one who spares himself can truly hate the world. If Christ be in us we cannot live to ourselves; if we have conquered ourselves we have conquered all things. . . . Let us die unto ourselves. Let us live in Christ that Christ may live in us."[3] It is hard for us to realize that the author of these words could have invoked curses and maledictions upon those who rejected his preaching in the following words: "Make this generation to be a reproach, that the evils which they have wickedly devised for thy servants they may feel on their own heads. Let their children

His denunciation of his enemies.

[1] *Cf.* Migne, vol. lxxx. col. 261, "melior forte est canis vivus in problemate leone mortuo."

[2] *Ep.* v.; Migne, id. col. 275.

[3] Gallandus, *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* xii.; *Ep.* iii.

perish, and when they come to middle age let stupefaction and madness seize upon them." [1]

On another occasion, after he had been expelled by Theodoric from his dominions, he was heard to remark, "This dog, Theodoric, has hunted me from the home of my brethren"; and when one said to him "in a low voice," "Methinks it is better to drink milk rather than wormwood," he replied, "Say to thy friend and thy lord that three years from this time he and his children will be destroyed, and that God will utterly root out his whole race." [2]

Celtic missionaries on the continent.

Apart from the success which they attained as missionaries to the heathen, the results of the work accomplished by Columbanus and the other Irish missionaries who followed him were mainly three—

(1) They raised the standards and ideals of learning in Gaul, and especially in Northern Gaul, and inspired monks and clergy alike with the desire to study the Scriptures and in addition the Greek and Latin classics. It was a common saying in the days of Charles the Bald (823-77), that anyone on the Continent who knew Greek was an Irishman or had obtained his knowledge from an Irishman.[3] It frequently happened that those who came in contact with the Irish in other countries were induced to visit Ireland in order to study in its monasteries. Thus Aldhelm, who was bishop of Sherborne at the end of the seventh century, describes the English students as going over in crowds to obtain instruction

[1] The words were uttered on the occasion of his rejection by the Suevi on the lake of Zurich. *Cf. Vita Galli*, ii. 7.

[2] *Vita*, c. 22.

[3] See "Die Iren und die Fränkische Kirche," by W. Levison. *Historische Zeitschrift*, Band 109, p. 21.

in Ireland.[1] In the middle of the seventh century Bishop Agilbert, of Paris, is reported to have spent a long time in an Irish monastery engaged in studying the Holy Scriptures.[2] It would appear that the Celtic missionaries were as a rule men of good education, and that their training included not only the Scriptures and early Christian writers, but the ancient classics. Patrick speaks of himself as "rusticissimus," but his knowledge of Latin was considerable and was not less than that of Martin of Tours. The writings of Columbanus show that he was acquainted with Virgil, Ovid, Horace and Sallust. Adamnan, the biographer of Columba, was familiar with Virgil. Several of the Irish who devoted themselves to missionary work were the authors of treatises on grammar and rhetoric. Dicuil wrote in 825 a treatise entitled "De mensura orbis terræ," also a treatise on astronomy.

Their secular learning.

The study, however, of ancient languages and of profane literature was ever regarded as subsidiary and as a means whereby to obtain a more perfect understanding of the Holy Scriptures. It is doubtful whether any missionaries of modern times have regarded an intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures as of more vital consequence for the prosecution of their work than did these early monkish students.[3]

Their study of the Holy Scriptures.

(2) We may claim as a second result of the work of the Irish missionaries the popularizing of the penitential system which Columbanus had elaborated, and the application of its principles to the lives

Their penitential system.

[1] "Catervatim . . . classibus advecti." Aldhelm, *Ep. ad Eahfridum*, col. 94.

[2] Id. p. 5.

[3] See Bede, *H. E.* iii. 3, 7; v. 9, 10, etc.

of many of the laity as well as to those of the monks.

(3) A third result which must be attributed to the work of the Irish missionaries, and to which we have already referred, was the introduction of the monastic system into Northern Gaul, and the establishment of the principle that monasteries might become independent of the control of the diocesan bishops. An indirect result which continued for a century or more was the consecration of an immense number of bishops who had no definite duties, some of whom wandered from monastery to monastery, and whose existence did much to render ineffective the episcopal organization of the Church. The French monasteries continued to receive recruits from Ireland as late as the thirteenth century, but long before this time their influence upon the life of the French Church had ceased to be felt.

Monasteries in Northern Gaul.

Although paganism was abolished throughout Gaul at an earlier period than in most of the other countries of Europe, several centuries elapsed before even the public observance of pagan rites was entirely eradicated.

Remains of paganism.

Gregory of Tours, in his life of Simplicius bishop of Autun, speaks of the worship of Cybele in that diocese and says that it was customary to carry her statue round the fields and vineyards in order to render them productive. In 689 St. Kilian found at the court of Dagobert II., king of East Francia, a golden image of Diana which was greatly venerated.[1] Temples to Jupiter, Mercury and Apollo at Rouen were still visited by worshippers in the seventh century.

[1] *Acta SS.*, July, p. 616.

Hincmar archbishop of Rheims states that in the time of Charles Martel the Christian faith had almost died out in Austrasia and Neustria, many of the Eastern Franks never having received baptism.[1]

In 743 the Council of Lestines referred to and denounced many still existing pagan superstitions.[2]

St. Valery of Auvergne.

Amongst other missionaries who laboured to convert pagans in France, mention should be made of Valery (Walaricus), a shepherd of Auvergne, who became the gardener at Luxeuil under Columbanus. The scene of his missionary labours was the neighbourhood of Amiens and in that part of Neustria in which the Salian Franks were established. Another who preached at Ponthieu and in the country bordering on the Somme was Riquier, who had been converted to the Christian faith by two Irish companions of Columbanus whom he had received into his house. He gained great influence alike amongst the poor and the rich, and was for a time one of the " companions of the king " at the court of Clothaire II.

St. Riquier.

St. Eustace.

Eustace, the successor of Columbanus as abbot of Luxeuil (610-625), was an ardent missionary, and in accordance with his own desire was deputed by the bishops who assembled at the Council of Bonneuil-sur-Marne in 616 to preach to pagans. He began by preaching to the heathen amongst the Varasques, not far from Luxeuil, who worshipped the fauns and dryads and genii of the woods. Later on he preached among the Boii in eastern Gaul.[3]

[1] Migne, *P. L.* cxxvi., col. 200, Ep. Ad episcopos de Jure Metropolitanorum. "In Germanicis et Belgicis ac Gallicanis provinciis omnis religio Christianitatis pene fuit abolita."

[2] Mans. *Conc.* xii. 385.

[3] See *Vita Eustasii*, by Jonas.

The hermit Wulflaich.

Wulflaich, a native of Lombardy, built himself a pillar in imitation of Simeon Stylites in the valley of the Moselle (*circ.* 560), and by the austerities which he practised converted some of the heathen around. He was eventually induced to descend from his pillar and share the labours of other missionaries who were working in the same district.[1]

St. Omer.

The modern town of St. Omer takes its name from Audomar, who was apparently converted by Columbanus near Lake Constance, and after being a monk at Luxeuil for twenty years became bishop of Therouanne. To

St. Bertin.

him and to his relative Bertin the conversion of the neighbouring district is said to have been due. So

Irish missionaries in Brittany.

large was the number of Irish missionaries who landed in Brittany,[2] coming in some cases direct from Ireland and in others from Cornwall, that a French writer (M. Berger) has referred to the Brittany of this period as "une colonie spirituelle d'Irlande."

Though the permanent results achieved by Columbanus and the other Irish missionaries in France and elsewhere are disappointing, and cannot be compared with those of the English Boniface and his successors, their labours nevertheless formed a brilliant episode in the development of the Christian Church in France. We must regret that so few records have survived of their labours and of those of the other missionaries to whom the conversion of France was due. But, though we cannot know as much as we desire of their lives and

[1] See *Acta SS.*, July 7. Greg. Tur. vii. 15.

[2] One of those who was present at the Council of Tours in 461 signed thus, "Mansuetus episcopus Britannorum interfui et subscripsi." See Labb. iv. 1053, also Haddan and Stubbs, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 72 f. This Mansuetus was probably a bishop in Brittany. For a tradition relating to a Bishop Mansuetus of Toul see above, p. 175.

methods of work, we can at least form some conception of the difficulties which they had to encounter.

Difficulties under which missionaries to Gaul laboured.

At the period when their missionary labours were accomplished the greater part of France, and indeed the greater part of Europe, consisted of forests inhabited by numerous wild beasts, infested, in many districts, by still fiercer brigands, and as difficult to traverse as is any Central African forest to-day. "To plunge into these terrible forests, to encounter these monstrous animals . . . required a courage of which nothing in the existing world can give us an idea. . . . The monk attacked these gloomy woods without arms, without sufficient implements, and often without a single companion. . . . He bore with him a strength which nothing has ever surpassed or equalled, the strength conferred by faith in a living God. . . . See, then, these men of prayer and penitence who were at the same time the bold pioneers of Christian civilisation and the modern world. . . . They plunged into the darkness carrying light with them, a light which was nevermore to be extinguished."[1]

[1] *The Monks of the West*, ii. pp. 320 f.

CHAPTER VII

ITALY

Introduction of Christianity.

Of the first preaching of Christianity in Italy we know nothing. It is probable that it was introduced into Rome by Christians whose names have not been preserved and who formed part of the countless stream of visitors that flocked year by year to the metropolis of the world. The "sojourners of Rome" who listened to the preaching of St. Peter on the Day of Pentecost would probably have carried back to Rome some report of what they had heard. The list of Christians in Rome to whom St. Paul sends greeting at the close of his Epistle to the Romans suggests that by about the year 57 there was a well-established Christian community, Prisca and Aquila, in whose house it may have met, being perhaps its leaders. That the Church was filled with missionary zeal may be inferred from St. Paul's statement that its faith was "proclaimed throughout the whole world."[1] There were Christians in the houses of Aristobulus and Narcissus who were apparently Roman nobles[2]; and, later on, when St. Paul himself was in Rome, there were Christians "in Cæsar's household."[3] Tacitus, referring to Nero's persecution of the Christians in

Prisca and Aquila.

Aristobulus and Narcissus.

[1] Rom. i. 8, ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν καταγγέλλεται ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ.

[2] See Harnack's *Exp. of C.* p. 45.

[3] Phil. iv. 22.

64, speaks of "a great multitude"[1] of Christians, an expression which cannot have denoted less than several hundreds. That Peter visited and taught in Rome cannot reasonably be doubted. He may have become interested in the great city as the result of converse with those to whom he preached on the Day of Pentecost, or he may have obtained introductions to dwellers in Rome from Cornelius the captain of the Italian Band (*cohors Italica*), which consisted of volunteers from Italy. He may also have heard that Simon Magus, whom he had silenced in Samaria, was teaching and influencing many in Rome.[2] St. Peter in Rome.

Clement of Rome, writing to the Christians at Corinth A.D. 95, after referring to the deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul, wrote, "Unto these men of holy lives was gathered a vast multitude of the elect, who through many indignities and tortures . . . set a brave example among ourselves."[3] By the time that he wrote a "rule of tradition" had already been established. A Roman consul Titus Flavius Clemens and his wife Domitilla, who were closely related to the Emperor Domitian, were Christians and were punished as such (95-96).[4] Clemens and Domitilla.

From the Shepherd of Hermas, which was probably written about the middle of the second century, we gather that the Christians in Rome included a number of wealthy persons.[5] In 166 the Roman bishop Soter, the author of the so-called second Epistle of Clement,[6] Bishop Soter.

[1] "ingens multitudo," *Ann.* xv. 44.

[2] See statements by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 56, and *Dial c. Tryphonem*, 126.

[3] *Ep. ad Cor.* vi. For arguments in favour of assigning A.D. 70 as the date of Clement's Epistle see Edmundson's *The Church in Rome in the First Century*, pp. 180-205.

[4] Eus. *H. E.* iii. 17; Dion Cassius, lxvii. 14; Suet. *Domit.* 15.

[5] Mandates, x.

[6] So Harnack, *Exp. of C.* p. 245.

referring to the Christians in Rome, or in Italy, claims that they were already more numerous than the Jews.[1]

Statement by Eusebius.

Referring to a period about twenty years later, Eusebius writes, "About the time of the reign of Commodus (180-192) our affairs changed for the better and by God's grace the churches all over the world enjoyed peace. Meanwhile the word of salvation was conducting every soul from every race of men to the devout worship of the God of all things, so that a large number of people at Rome eminent for great wealth and high birth, turned to their salvation along with all their households and families."[2] During the reign of Commodus a Christian named Carpophorus belonged to the Emperor's household, one of whose slaves, Callistus, afterwards became bishop of Rome.

Bishop Callistus.

There are many references, alike in Christian and non-Christian writings, which prove that in the second, and still more in the third century, the number of Christians belonging to the richer and more cultured classes was considerable. The second rescript issued by the Emperor Valerian in 258 suggests that there were many Christians belonging to the highest classes of Roman society. It reads: "Senators and prominent men and Roman knights are to lose their position and moreover be deprived of their property, and if they persist in being Christians after their goods have been taken from them, they are to be beheaded. Matrons are to be deprived of their goods and sent into exile: but members of Cæsar's household are to have their goods confiscated and be sent in chains by appointment to the estates of Cæsar."[3]

Christians of high rank.

[1] *Ep. ad Cor.* chap. ii. [2] *H. E.* v. 21, 1. [3] Cypr. *Ep.* lxxx. 1.

Eusebius, referring to the reign of Diocletian (prior to 303), says, "The Emperors even trusted our members with provinces to govern (τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας) and exempted them from the duty of offering sacrifice." [1]

Christian orators and grammarians.

Harnack writes, "We know a whole series of names of orators and grammarians who came over to Christianity." [2] He goes on to suggest that, whereas in the East "the decisive factor" in the conversion of the more cultured classes was the development of Christian learning at Alexandria and Cæsarea, in the West "the upper classes were brought over to the faith by the authority and stability of the church." [3]

Statements by Tertullian,

Tertullian writes, "Even Severus [4] himself, the father of Antoninus, was mindful of the Christians . . . and both men and women of the highest rank whom Severus knew to be members of this sect he not merely refrained from injuring, but he bore honourable testimony to them and he restored them to us out of the hands of a raging mob." [5]

and Dionysius of Alexandria.

Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, speaking of the attitude of the Emperor Valerian (253-260) towards the Christians, says that he treated them with quite undisguised friendliness and goodwill at the commencement of his reign: "his whole court was full of pious people; it was a church of God." [6]

The wife and daughter of Diocletian, who became one of the chief persecutors, were Christians.

Christian soldiers in the Roman army.

Some of the most effective missionary work was done by soldiers who, from very early times, were to

[1] *H. E.* viii. 1.
[2] *Exp. of Christianity*, ii. 41.
[3] Id. ii. 42.
[4] S. reigned from 193 to 211.
[5] *Ep. ad Scapulam*, iv. Migne, *P. L.* i. col. 703.
[6] Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 10.

be found in the Roman army, nor is there any evidence to show that the early Church regarded the profession of a soldier as inconsistent with the practice of Christianity.[1] In the prayers of the Church the army was regularly mentioned.[2] As the number of Christian officers and soldiers increased, especially after the time of Gallienus, the authorities frequently connived at their non-attendance at the sacrifices, or other rites, in which they could not conscientiously take part. Galerius endeavoured to stamp out Christianity from the army, and the first persecution of Diocletian, which occurred at his instigation, was directed primarily against Christian soldiers and was followed by an edict against them issued by Licinius. This persecution came to an abrupt end when Constantine in his expedition against Maxentius affixed the cross to the standards of his regiments. Pachomius, who afterwards became a monk and the founder of the monastic settlement at Tabennisi, was a soldier in Constantine's army, and was converted to Christianity by the brotherly love displayed by the Christian soldiers in the army. One of the canons passed at the Council of Arles in Gaul (314) pronounced sentence of excommunication upon any Christian soldier who should decline to perform his military duties.

Pachomius.

[1] Tertullian and Origen were amongst the few early writers who regarded service in the army as inconsistent with the profession of the Christian faith. Tertullian devotes a treatise to the discussion of the case of a soldier who was put to death because he refused a military crown. Incidentally he bears witness to the existence of a very large number of Christian soldiers in the Roman army. Thus he writes *circ.* 200: "We are of yesterday and we have filled your camps. . . . Along with you we fight," *Apol.* 37, 42. Origen held that all war was opposed to the teachings of Christianity (*contra Celsum*, viii. 73).

[2] *Cf.* Tert. *Apol.* xxx. Migne, *P. L.* i. col. 441; Arnob. iv. 36.

The only places in Italy in which we know that Christians existed before the end of the first century are Rome and Puteoli. To these we may perhaps add Pompeii, where a terra-cotta lamp has been dug up bearing the Christ monogram.[1] By 180 there were Christians at Naples,[2] at one or more of the Greek-speaking towns in southern Italy,[3] and probably at Syracuse in Sicily.[4]

Christians in Pompeii?

The number of Jews in Rome about the time of the Christian era has been estimated at 10,000.[5] At the time when St. Paul preached in Rome the character of the inhabitants was as cosmopolitan as that of any city has ever been. The upper classes were accustomed to speak Greek in preference to Latin and amongst the lowest classes a debased form of Greek was generally used for trade purposes. Thus Juvenal taunts his fellow-countrymen with living in a Greek city.[6]

Use of the Greek language.

The first missionaries to visit Italy probably spoke Greek and for more than a century after the foundation of a Christian Church the majority of its members apparently used the Greek language and were not natives of Italy.[7] The first bishop of Rome who wrote

[1] Harnack regards this discovery as affording evidence that the monogram itself is of pagan origin. *Exp. of C.* ii. 93 n. The words "Sodoma Gomora" were found scratched on a wall at Pompeii, but this might have been done by a Jew.

[2] See evidence provided by catacombs of St. Genaro.

[3] Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 1, 11.

[4] According to evidence supplied by catacombs.

[5] It has been estimated that at this time there were 1,000,000 in Egypt, 700,000 in Palestine, and in the whole Roman Empire 4,000,000 to 4,500,000 out of a total population of about 55,000,000.

[6] *Cf.* Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 60, "Non possum ferre, Quirites, Græcam urbem," and, again, i. 62, "Jam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes."

[7] Seneca writes with regard to the inhabitants of Rome, "They

in Latin was Victor (189-199) and of the bishops who preceded him only two bear Latin names. When Polycarp bishop of Smyrna reached Rome in 154 he conducted service there in Greek; and the Apostles' Creed was apparently composed in Greek about the middle of the second century.[1] The majority of the Roman clergy appear to have used Greek as their official language till the middle of the third century.

A Latin Bible.

How soon the Bible was translated into Latin for the benefit of the Roman Christians it is impossible to determine, but it is probable that the Latin versions made in North Africa in the second century were earlier than any of the Italian versions.

As an illustration of Greek influence in Rome at a much later period we may note the fact that Pope John V, who was appointed in 685, and six of his immediate successors were either Greeks or Syrians.

The first Roman provincial synod of which we know was presided over by Bishop Telesphorus (142-154) and was attended by twelve bishops.

The number of Christians in Rome in 251.

Some indication as to the number of Christians in Rome in 251 is afforded by a letter of Cornelius bishop of Rome referred to by Eusebius,[2] which states that there were then 46 presbyters, 7 deacons, 5 sub-deacons, 42 acolytes, 52 exorcists, readers and doorkeepers, and 1500 widows and persons in distress, all of whom the Master's grace and lovingkindness support." Harnack, commenting on this statement, suggests that these figures point to a Christian Catholic community

have flocked thither from the whole world. . . . The majority have left their homes and come to the greatest and fairest of cities, yet a city which is not their own." *Ad Helviam Matrem de Consolatione*, c. 6.

[1] See Harnack, *Exp. of C.* ii. 241 f.

[2] vi. 43.

numbering about 30,000.[1] There were also at this period in Rome a Montanist, a Theodotian, and a Marcionite church and several Gnostic churches.[2] If we count the Catholic and Novatian bishops it would appear that by the middle of the third century Italy possessed nearly 100 bishops.[3]

Spread of Christianity.

Harnack suggests that by the beginning of the fourth century almost every town of any considerable size in Italy had a bishop or at any rate a Christian community within its walls.[4]

Statement by Gaudentius.

Gaudentius bishop of Brescia (387), referring to the rapid spread of Christianity in Italy during the fourth century, writes, "It is clear that the heathen hastened with the celerity of a running wheel to leave the error of idolatry into which they had formerly sunk and to adopt Christian truth."[5]

Slow progress in the country districts.

Prior to the reign of Constantine the Christians in Italy formed, however, but a small fraction of the total population. Thus Harnack writes: "This [Christian] population would be denser wherever Greeks formed an appreciable percentage of the inhabitants, *i.e.* in the maritime towns of Lower Italy and Sicily, although the Latin-speaking population would still remain for the most part pagan. The fact that the Christian Church of Rome was predominantly Greek till shortly before the middle of the third century is proof positive that up till then the Christianizing

[1] *Exp. of C.* ii. 248. Gibbon and Döllinger put the number at 50,000. The total population of Rome at this time is estimated by Gibbon at 1,200,000.

[2] Harnack, Id. p. 247.

[3] Harnack, Id. p. 249.

[4] For a list of places in Italy and Sicily in which Christian Churches probably existed before 325 see Harnack, *Exp. of C.* 253-7. There were Christians at Syracuse at least as early as 250.

[5] See Migne, *P.L.* xx. col. 892.

of the Latin population in Middle and Lower Italy must have been still in an inchoate state, although it certainly made rapid strides between 250 and 320."[1]

Christian burials in the catacombs.

Some indication of the extent of the Christian population in Rome is afforded by the number of Christians who were buried in the catacombs. The total length of the galleries has been reckoned at from 500 to 800 miles and the number of burials at from one and a half to six millions. There are no inscriptions later than 410, and by far the larger part of the tombs belongs to the century and a half which preceded the edict of Constantine in 313.

Sites of bishoprics, 325.

With the possible exception of Genoa there do not appear to have been any Christian Churches in Piedmont or Liguria prior to 325. By this date bishoprics had been established at Ravenna, Milan, Aquileia, Brescia, Verona, Bologna and Imola, and Christian communities perhaps existed at Padua, Bergamo, Como, Piacenza, Modena, Cremona and Pavia.[2] That Christianity subsequently spread throughout the north of Italy with considerable rapidity is shown by the fact that in 396 Ambrose bishop of Milan could write to the Church in Vercelli, "The Church of the Lord in your midst has not yet a priest, it being the only one that is deprived of the service of a priest in all Liguria, or Æmilia, or Venetia, or the other districts that border on Italy."[3]

Christianity in north Italy.

A poet named Severus Sanctus Endelechius, a friend of Paulinus of Nola, writing at the beginning of the fifth century says that Christians are only to be found

[1] Harnack, *Exp. of C.* ii. 329.
[2] Harnack, ii. 259.
[3] *Ep.* i. 63. Migne, *P. L.* xvi. col. 1189.

in large towns,[1] and his statement contains a considerable measure of truth.

Luxury in the Christian Church, 366.

A distressing picture of the luxury in which the bishop of Rome lived in 366 is suggested by the words of Ammianus Marcellinus, who, after describing a fight that took place in a church in Rome between the followers of Damasus and Ursinus, rival claimants for the bishopric, and which resulted in the death of 137 persons, writes, "I do not deny . . . that those who are ambitious for this thing [the bishopric] ought to spare no effort in the fray to secure what they want, for if they get it, they will be sure of being enriched by the offerings of matrons, of riding about in carriages, dressed in clothes the cynosure of every eye, and of giving banquets so profuse that their entertainments shall surpass the tables of kings."[2] Nor was it only in Rome that the luxury of the bishops became a scandal to the community. In the East Bishop Paul of Samosata lived in greater state than that adopted by the Roman emperors.[3]

Pagan ceremonies prohibited.

By the middle of the fourth century the Government, influenced by the representatives of the Christian Church, had begun to prohibit the public performance of pagan rites. Thus the Emperor Constantius, in an edict issued in 341, writes:—"Let superstition cease and the insanity of sacrificial rites be abolished."[4] In 391 Theodosius prohibited all entrance into heathen temples, and in the following year he pro-

[1] He writes,

"Signum quod perhibent esse crucis Dei,
Magnis qui colitur solus in urbibus,"

quoted in Hauck's *K. D.* i. 38 n.

[2] xxvii. 3, 12.

[3] See Euseb. v. 30.

[4] *Codex Theodosianus*, xvi. 10, 1, 2, "cesset superstitio, sacrificiorum aboleatur insania."

hibited even private worship and all offerings to Lares, Penates and family deities.[1] But though Theodosius endeavoured to suppress pagan worship, he continued to honour many who openly professed their old religion. Thus he appointed Symmachus[2] as a consul at Rome, Libanius[3] as prefect of the palace at Constantinople, and Themistius[4] as prefect of Constantinople.

Decline of paganism in Rome.

At the beginning of the reign of Honorius (395), temples to at least nine different deities were still standing in Rome, and festivals and ceremonies in connection with them were observed. Shortly afterwards, however, it would appear that these temples fell into disuse. Thus Jerome, writing in 403, says, "The golden capitol is dishonoured, all the temples of Rome stand begrimed with cobwebs . . . and the populace streams past the half-demolished shrines on their way to the tombs of the martyrs."[5] The hope of being able to forecast the future by the examination of the entrails of victims explains why many, who were intellectually convinced of the truth of Christianity, still clung to the practice of offering heathen sacrifices. A decree of Theodosius issued in 385 had pronounced the punishment of death upon any who thus attempted to forecast the future.[6]

An imperial edict, issued by Theodosius II, in 423, assumes that heathenism was then almost extinct,

[1] *Codex Theodosianus*, xvi. 10, 1, 12.

[2] Prudentius, *In Symm.* i. iv. 623.

[3] Libanius, *Ep.* 765.

[4] Libanius, *Ep.* 38. Themistius, referring to his entering the place where the senate was assembled, said, "I entered this sacred place where presides the king of kings, even Jupiter himself." Themist. *Orat.* xvi.

[5] *Ep.* cvii.

[6] *Codex Theod.* xvi. 10, 1, 9. See Chastel, *Destruction du paganisme*, 188.

and directs that any found sacrificing to "demons" are to be punished by confiscation of goods and banishment.[1]

St. Augustine's *City of God*, which was completed in 426, and, to a lesser degree, the *History of the World* written by the Spaniard Orosius at the instigation of St. Augustine, helped to give the death-blow to the cause of philosophic paganism.

Removal of pagan images.

In December 408 Honorius issued a decree addressed to Curtius the prefect of Italy, which directed that all images in temples should be removed, that the temples should be converted to secular uses, and that the endowments of heathen festivals should be devoted to provide payment for the army.[2] It is interesting to note that Augustine disapproved of the treatment of the temples which was ordered by this edict. He wrote, "Let us first extirpate the idolatry of the hearts of the heathen and they will either themselves assist us, or anticipate us, in the execution of this good work."[3] The bishops of the towns were empowered to suppress pagan customs and the civil authorities were ordered to assist them. The edict was not however extensively enforced and the next emperor of Rome, Attalus, was himself a pagan.

The belief in magic.

A belief in magic, divination and astrology exercised a widespread influence in the later days of paganism and long after paganism had been legally suppressed. Thus when Rome was threatened by the Goths in 408, some Tuscan magicians offered

[1] *C. Th.* xvi. 10, 1, 22, 23. "Paganos qui supersunt, quanquam jam nullos esse credamus, promulgatarum legum jamdudum prescripta compescant." Theodosius II issued two later decrees against paganism, in 435 and 438.

[2] *Cod. Theod.* xvi. x. 20.

[3] Tom. v. p. 62.

their services to Pompeianus the prefect, assuring him that by their spells they could save the city from its enemies. Pompeianus on this occasion sought advice from Innocent the bishop of Rome. Whether he, too believed in magic, or whether he feared the populace is uncertain; but, instead of protesting against its use, he merely stipulated that the magical rites should be performed in secret. The Christian historian Sozomen[1] implies that the magical rites were performed, but were unavailing: the heathen writer Zosimus[2] says that they were not performed.

Capture of Rome by Alaric, 410.

The capture of Rome by Alaric in 410 meant the final overthrow of paganism in the city of Rome. As paganism gradually died out many temples were converted into churches and local deities were in some cases transformed into Christian saints.[3]

Heathen gods *v.* Christian saints.

"The worship of the heathen deities . . . was superseded by the new form of Christianity, which at least in its outward appearance approximated to polytheism: the Virgin gradually supplanted many of the local deities. In Sicily, which long remained obstinately wedded to the ancient faith, eight celebrated temples were dedicated to the Mother of God."[4]

The last pagan festival, the Lupercalia, was suppressed by Pope Gelasius in 493, but heathenism lingered on till it was finally eradicated by the efforts of the monks towards the end of the fifth century.

The reverence, if not worship, offered to the relics

[1] ix. 6.

[2] v. 41.

[3] At Siena the temple of Quirinus became the Church of St. Quirino.

[4] Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, iii. 182. According to Beugnot (*Destruction du paganisme*, ii. 271) this occurred soon after the Council of Ephesus had accorded to the Blessed Virgin the title θεοτόκος.

of martyrs and saints which became prominent at the end of the fourth century, was in many cases a continuation of worship that had been previously offered to some pagan god. Whilst Julian and Libanius had ridiculed the Christians for worshipping a number of dead men, the Christian writer Theodoret definitely claimed that the Lord had substituted the martyrs for the heathen gods, and given them their glory.[1]

Zeus and Athena *v.* Krishna and Kali.

Looking back over the long period of time that has elapsed since the Greek and Roman gods ceased to be regarded as real beings, it is difficult for us to reconstruct in thought the conflict that was waged during the third and fourth centuries between their worshippers and the followers of Christ. The conflict which is now in progress in north India may, however, give us some help towards such a reconstruction. Dr Glover writes, "Zeus and Athena are not now, and we can only with difficulty conceive them ever to have been for thinking men, even with all the generous allowances philosophers might make, a possible alternative to Christ. Yet are they stranger than Krishna and Kali? Is it not possible to-day for man to halt between two opinions in India, and find in the philosophy or theosophy of thirty centuries of Hinduism an attraction which may outweigh Christianity? When we think of the age of Julian we must not forget that the Brahmo-Samaj exists to-day."[2]

The last stage of the final struggle between Christianity and paganism in the Roman Empire, and more

[1] *Græcarum Affectionum Curatio*, viii. Migne, *P. Gr.* lxxxiii., col. 1033. τοὺς οἰκείους νεκροὺς ὁ Δεσπότης ἀντεισῆξε (ἀντέταξε) τοῖς ὑμετέροις Θεοῖς . . . τούτοις δὲ τὸ ἐκείνων ἀπένειμε γέρας.

[2] *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, by T. R. Glover, p. 48.

particularly in Italy, has for the student of Missions a peculiar interest, inasmuch as it resembles in several essential features the struggle between Christianity and Hinduism, Buddhism or Confucianism which is going on now in India and the Far East. As is the case to-day in India, China and Japan, so was it in the fourth century, the opposition that was called forth by the preaching of the Christian faith resulted in the sublimation and purification of the faiths to which it was placed in opposition, until the rules of life and conduct inculcated by their noblest exponents became so exalted that there seemed little to choose between them and those of the teachers of Christianity. In this and in several other respects, the exponents of Hinduism and Buddhism in their efforts to stem the tide of Christianity in the East are acting even as the teachers of paganism acted in the time of Julian.

The sublimation of heathen teachings.

Julian.

His story is one of the saddest which it is possible to read. A man naturally religious was driven, we might almost say forced, by the meanness, the bigotry and the hypocrisy of the Christians with whom he was brought into contact, to renounce his profession of Christianity and to seek in a purified and eclectic heathenism the satisfaction for himself and, as he vainly hoped, for his fellow-countrymen of his pure and noble aspirations. The words attributed to him as he was dying (363), "O Galilean, Thou hast conquered," are apocryphal, but they none the less represent the truth. With the death of Julian was extinguished the last hope of a purified heathenism that could offer any effective opposition to the advancing tide of Christianity. How rapidly a nominal

Christianity reasserted itself in the Roman army may be seen from the statement of Socrates[1] that when his successor Jovian, who was saluted by the soldiers as Cæsar, refused the title on the ground that he was a Christian, they answered with one voice that they too were Christians. Fifteen years later Ambrose of Milan (writing in 377 or 378) says that the schools of the heathen philosophers which Julian had encouraged were already deserted, whilst the number of simple believers daily increased.[2]

The last stronghold of heathenism in Rome was the Roman senate. Its members represented the traditions and the glories of the past. Moreover, the city was full of temples,[3] many of which had been built to commemorate victories, and the senate was specially concerned to preserve intact the religious ceremonies connected with them. Paganism in fact remained the state religion of Rome till 383, and well on into the fifth century it was represented in Rome by some of its leading citizens. Professor Lindsay writes: "Paganism never showed itself to greater advantage than during its last years of heroic but unavailing struggle. Its leaders, whether in the schools of Athens or among the senatorial party at Rome, were for the most part men of pure lives with a high moral standard of conduct, men who commanded esteem and respect. Immorality abounded but the pagan standard had

Paganism the state religion till 383.

[1] *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 22-26.

[2] *De Fide*, i. cap. xiii. "Philosophi soli in suis gymnasiis remanserunt. Illi quotidie a suis consortibus deseruntur, qui copiose disputant; isti quotidie crescunt qui simpliciter credunt."

[3] In the time of Julian the city of Rome contained 152 temples and 180 smaller chapels or shrines, most of which were used for public worship. The capitol alone contained 50 temples or shrines.

become much higher. Christians and heathen were full of mutual esteem for each other. The letters exchanged between Symmachus and Ambrose reveal the intimacy in which the nobler pagans and earnest-minded Christians lived. Even the caustic Jerome seems to have a lurking but sincere affection for some of the leaders of the pagan senatorial party." [1]

The weakness of rejuvenated paganism.

The weakness of this nobler form of paganism was the weakness which characterizes the rejuvenated Hinduism and Buddhism of to-day; it had no saving or uplifting force which it could impart to the poor, the unlearned and the miserable. The possession of this force and of the power to impart it gave to Christianity its irresistible success as a missionary religion. Despite all the failings of individual Christians, despite the avarice, the self-seeking, the pride and the bigotry, which repelled men of a noble nature who like Julian possessed a genuinely religious spirit, the Christian community then as now was the embodiment of the only force which could regenerate human society.

Survival of paganism in the country districts.

In the country districts outside Rome and especially in Southern Italy paganism lingered on for many years. Naples was specially distinguished for its persistent adherence to paganism, and Etruria continued for a long time to supply the whole of Italy with pagan diviners. A tractate of Maximus of Turin written about 450 entitled *Contra paganos* speaks of paganism as prevailing generally in the surrounding districts.[2] The lack of means of communication may in part account for the long continuance of paganism in the south. Its formal abolition may perhaps be dated from 500,

[1] *Cambridge Mediæval History*, i. 116. [2] See Migne, *P. L.* lvii. col. 781.

when Theodoric issued a decree directing that all persons found sacrificing in accordance with pagan rites should be put to death.

When Benedict arrived at the site of Monte Cassino in 529, prior to the foundation of the monastery, he found paganism still surviving. St. Gregory in his life of Benedict says that there existed there a very ancient shrine of Apollo and a sacred wood where the foolish peasants worshipped Apollo and other demons.[1] As the result of Benedict's preaching they cut down the sacred wood and destroyed the shrine and idol, and on this site rose the famous monastery from which missionaries went forth into far distant lands.

Benedict preaches to pagans in 529.

On leaving Bregenz in 613 Columbanus, who had at first contemplated attempting missionary work amongst the Slavonians, crossed the Alps accompanied by a single disciple named Attalus, and betook himself to the court of Agiluf, the king of the Lombards, who with his wife Theodelinda gave him a hearty welcome at Milan.

Columbanus in Italy, 613.

In a secluded gorge of the Apennines between Genoa and Milan he founded, and helped with his own hands to build, the monastery of Bobbio which afterwards became widely famous. During his last days he laboured to win the Arians of Lombardy to the orthodox faith and to convert the pagans who were still to be found in the neighbourhood. He declined an invitation sent to him by Clothaire II to return to the monastery which he had founded at Luxeuil and eventually died at Bobbio in 615 A.D., at the age of 72.[2]

Death at Bobbio, 615.

[1] Gregory, *Vita Ben.* c. viii.

[2] For references to the life and work of Columbanus see above, p. 189 ff. His age at the date of his death is not quite certain.

A cave is pointed out in a mountain gorge near Bobbio in which Columbanus is said to have lived towards the end of his life, only returning to the monastery to spend Sundays and Saints' Days with his brethren.

Jonas, the biographer of Columbanus, tells how a certain monk when travelling from Bobbio to Tortona attempted to destroy a wooden temple which he found on the shores of the Serivia, and how he was beaten and thrown into the water by the pagan worshippers connected with the temple.

St. Barbatus,

Although the life of St. Barbatus, given in the *Acta Sanctorum*[1] for Feb. 19, does not, in its earliest form, apparently date earlier than the ninth century, it affords evidence that instances of paganism were to be found in southern Italy well on into the seventh century. Barbatus was born in 602, and the scene of his missionary labours was among the Samnites near Beneventum, whose king Romwald, was a son of the Lombard king Grimwald. Romwald's subjects had been baptized, but nevertheless continued to worship the image of a viper, and to pay homage to a "sacrilegious" tree that grew near the walls of their city. Barbatus reasoned with them and showed them that they could not serve two masters, but must choose between idolatry and the worship of God, and by the performance of many wonderful miracles he softened their hearts and induced them to listen to his teaching.

becomes bishop of Beneventum.

After a time the town of Beneventum was besieged by the forces of Constantius, and its inhabitants were on the point of surrendering, whereupon Barbatus promised

[1] An edition by Waitz is printed in the *Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum.*

them that if they would renounce their idolatry God would defend them and deliver the city out of the hands of their enemies. Their deliverance having been effected, Barbatus was allowed to cut down the "sacrilegious" tree, and eventually the image of the viper was melted down and made into a chalice and paten. Barbatus is said to have continued as bishop of Beneventum for nearly nineteen years, and to have died on February 19, 682, in the eightieth year of his age.

In trying to sketch the spread of Christianity throughout Italy we have only referred incidentally to the work of Constantine and to the influence which he exerted upon the missionary activities of the Church throughout the Roman Empire.

Constantine's influence on the Christian Church.

The battle of the Milvian Bridge (October 28, 312), followed as it was by the Edict of Milan, marks a turning-point in the history of the development of Christianity. From this time forward the Christian Church was left free to expand throughout the Empire, but from this time forward it was deprived of the bracing and purifying influence which the contempt and intermittent persecution of the State had exerted upon its members. "The world," wrote William Law, "by professing Christianity is so far from being a less dangerous enemy than it was before, that it has by its favours destroyed more Christians than ever it did by the most violent persecution." [1]

We need not here stop to discuss the personal character of Constantine. His greatest admirers will admit

[1] *Serious Call*, chap. xvii.

that he committed ghastly crimes [1] and that throughout his life his profession and practice of the Christian faith bore little relation the one to the other. On the other hand we must remember the low standard of morality which prevailed at the time in which he lived. The German historian Niebuhr writes: "Many judge of Constantine by too severe a standard, because they regard him as a Christian. But I cannot look upon him in that light. The religion which he had in his head must have been a strange jumble indeed. . . . He was a superstitious man, and mixed up his Christian religion with all kinds of absurd superstitions and opinions. When certain oriental writers call him 'equal to the Apostles' they do not know what they are saying, and to speak of him as a saint is a profanation of the word." [2] Whatever judgment we may pass upon the personal character of Constantine we can entertain little doubt that the compromise between paganism and Christianity which he effected [3] was disastrous to the best interests of the Christian Church.

The compromise between paganism and Christianity.

One who was a careful student of history and who did much to emphasize the missionary obligations of the Christian Church, referring to his conversion, wrote: "The conversion of Constantine was the greatest calamity which ever happened to the Church. 'Conquer by this.' Surely none can conquer by this save by dying upon it. Up to that time martyrs looked

[1] *E.g.* the murder of his wife Fausta and his son Crispus, which occurred after the Council of Nicæa.

[2] *Lectures on Roman History*, cap. v. For a critical appreciation of the life and character of Constantine see art. "Constantine" by Bp. J. Wordsworth in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

[3] After his death Constantine received the honours of apotheosis and the title of "divus." See Eutropius, x. 10.

to the Cross that they might have divine strength to follow their crucified Redeemer. Thenceforward the benefits of Christ's Passion came to be regarded rather as a security for a future life than as an elevating power by which they might glorify God on earth. . . . Christianity triumphed in name but the world triumphed in power." [1]

Bp. Westcott on the character of Constantine.

Bishop Westcott, who takes a more favourable view of Constantine's work and character, writes: "Slowly and painfully, moving ever towards the light, he seems to have seen, as he advanced, more and more clearly what the faith was which at first he identified with the Author of his own successes. . . . Constantine is a figure of the passage from the old world to the new. . . . If his worth be estimated by what he did he will rank second to few among the benefactors of humanity." [2]

Results of his conversion.

The conversion of Constantine resulted in the rapid extension of a profession of Christianity throughout the Empire, but, as might have been anticipated, the conversion of his subjects was no deeper or more complete than was that of their Emperor. "It is a fact of grim and terrible significance that the geographical extension and external triumph of Christianity, which was intended to be the light of the world, coincided with the beginning of that period which historians

[1] Art. by R. M. Benson (Founder of the Cowley Brotherhood): *The East and the West*, vol. i. p. 293.

[2] *The Two Empires*, p. 232 f. Bp. W. adds, "Even to the last he stands before us as Constantine the Conqueror. When Helena sent him the nails which had fastened the Saviour to the Cross, according to the familiar legend, he used them for his helmet and the bit of his war-horse. The fragment of the Cross itself he placed in his own statue with the attributes of the sun at Constantinople."

have generally, and not unjustly, called "the Dark Ages." [1]

Eusebius in his life of Constantine refers to the "unspeakable hypocrisy of those who creep into the Church and make a spurious profession of Christianity." [2]

Constantine *v.* Marcus Aurelius.

It is hardly possible to avoid asking the question, On what lines might the Christian Church have developed, and what would have been its influence as a missionary agency if the character of Constantine had been other than it was, or if an emperor such as Marcus Aurelius had been on the throne when Christianity became nominally the religion of the State?

The religion of M. Aurelius.

It is indeed a tragedy of history to which it would be impossible to find a parallel that to the best and most religious emperor who ever controlled the fortunes of the Roman Empire should never have been vouchsafed any knowledge of the Christian faith other than that which was supplied to him by its opponents. The solitary and scornful reference to it which occurs in his *Meditations* suggests that he was wholly unacquainted with its teachings. Had he read any defence of Christianity such as the second *Apology* of Justin Martyr which was addressed to the emperor, or had he come in contact with any great Christian personality, we cannot doubt that he would have become an ardent disciple of Jesus Christ. Had he become a Christian, and had he been able to retain his

[1] *The Church and the World in Idea and in History*, by W. Hobhouse, p. 153.

[2] *Vita Const.* iv. 54. εἰρωνείαν τ' ἄλεκτον τῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑποδυομένων καὶ τὸ Χριστιανῶν ἐπιπλάστως σχηματιζομένων ὄνομα.

seat on the imperial throne, it might well have been the case that he would have exerted a profound influence upon the development of the Christian Church throughout the world. "It is," as John Stuart Mill says in his Essay on Liberty, "one of the most tragical facts of all history that Constantine, rather than Marcus Aurelius, was the first Christian emperor. It is a bitter thought how different the Christianity of the world might have been, had it been adopted as the religion of the empire under the auspices of Marcus Aurelius instead of those of Constantine." As the case was it is not difficult for us to understand his motive for instituting a persecution against the Christians. He was unfeignedly devoted to the worship of the gods on whose temples from his palace on the Palatine he gazed from day to day, and to whose providential care he believed the building up of the greatest empire which the world had ever seen was due. He was told by those on whose word he had been accustomed to rely that the imperial city, which contained countless thousands who worshipped the national deities, contained also a sect which had arisen but yesterday, and which, not content with refusing to do honour to these gods, declared that they were phantoms of the imagination, or worse still personifications of the forces of evil, and who claimed for the Being whom they worshipped a solitary supremacy. He would further have been told that this sect was inspired with missionary activity foreign to the worshippers of all other gods, which had already resulted in spreading its doctrines throughout the remotest districts, doctrines which constituted an increas-

ing danger to the institutions and religion of the empire.

Diary of M. Aurelius.

Dr Glover, after referring to his diary as "in many ways the saddest of all books," writes, "Its manliness and purity, its high ideals and earnestness, make more pathetic that haunting uncertainty and want of rest which one feels throughout it. The theory of life is so obviously only a working hypothesis, unverifiable at best. . . . He is no atheist, no sceptic perhaps, but he looks for heavenly guidance and is not conscious of receiving it, and so he makes his own way sadly as well as he can. Yet from the story of his life we learn that this thinker, this speculator, emancipated as we might suppose him from common weakness, sacrificed perhaps more than any other Roman Emperor. If he was not to attain light from the gods, it was not to be for want of asking it. So doubt and devotion went hand in hand in sadness."[1]

Had the conversion of Italy and of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean been less superficial, and had the missionaries and early Christian teachers succeeded in inspiring the population of these countries with the true ideals of the Christian faith, the subsequent history of Europe would have been far other than it has been. As it is, we cannot dispute the truth of the words of a modern historian who writes: "It is impossible to read the history of the early Middle Ages without feeling that for the first six centuries after the fall of the western Empire, there is little or no progress. The night grows darker and darker, and we seem to get ever deeper into the mire. Not

Christianity in the early Middle Ages.

[1] *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, T. R. Glover, pp. 306 f.

till we are quite clear of the wrecks of the Carolingian fabric, not till the days of William the Norman and Hildebrand, do we seem to be making any satisfactory progress out of Chaos into Cosmos." [1]

[1] *Italy and Her Invaders*, H. T. Hodgkin, ii. 536 f.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BALKAN PENINSULA

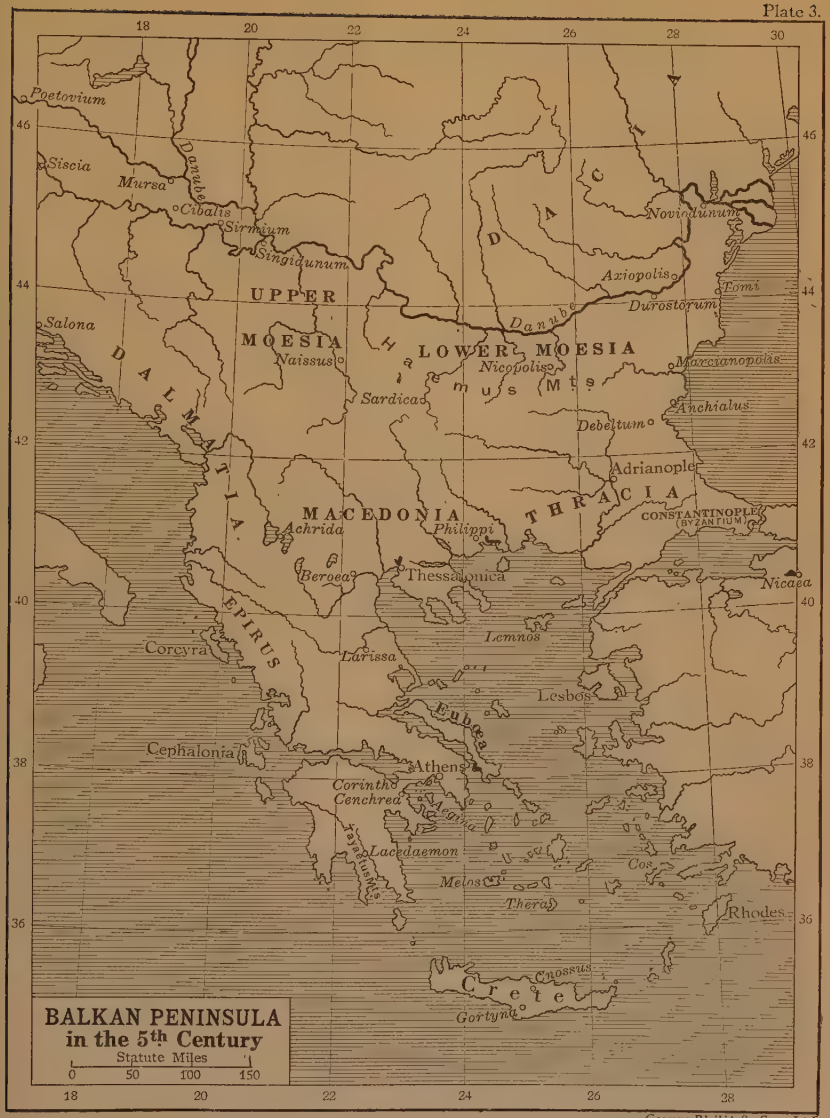
Countries included in the Balkan peninsula.

UNDER the term Balkan peninsula we include the countries which now constitute Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Turkey in Europe, Serbia, Herzegovina, Albania and Dalmatia. The ancient districts or provinces as they existed in the fourth century in which these territories were included were Achaia, which included the Peloponnesus; Epirus, which included the western half of northern Greece[1]; Macedonia, which included north-eastern Greece and the southern parts of Serbia and Bulgaria; Thracia, which included Turkey in Europe and part of Bulgaria; Upper Mœsia, which included the northern parts of Serbia; and Lower Mœsia, which included north Bulgaria; and Dalmatia on the Adriatic which extended much more to the east than does the present Dalmatia and included Albania and Herzegovina. Modern Rumania formed part of Dacia.

Christian communities in 100 A.D.

By the end of the first century a Christian community apparently existed in the following places: Philippi, Thessalonica and Berœa in Macedonia (Acts xvii.); Nicopolis in Epirus (Titus iii. 12); Athens, Corinth and Cenchræa in Greece; Illyria (Romans xv. 19), and

[1] The expression Illyria was used in the early centuries to denote portions of Epirus and Macedonia. The term was also used of a much wider area including Dalmatia and Pannonia.



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Dalmatia (2 Tim. iv. 10). It is possible that St. Peter may have laboured as a missionary in Greece, or in other parts of the Balkan peninsula. That he taught for some time in Corinth may perhaps be inferred from the statement of St. Paul that there arose a party in that city which said of him, "I am of Peter." Moreover Dionysius of Corinth, writing to Soter bishop of Rome, speaks of "the plantation of Peter and Paul at Rome and Corinth." [1] St. Peter in Greece.

By the year 180 A.D. Christian communities were also in existence at Debeltum and Anchialus [2] and probably at Byzantium,[3] at Larissa in Thessaly,[4] in Lacedæmon,[5] at Cnossus and Gortyna and other towns in Crete [6] and at Samê in Cephalonia.[7]

The one outstanding figure in Greece in the second century is Dionysius bishop of Corinth (*circ.* 170) who wrote a series of letters containing counsel and exhortation to the Christians of Lacedæmon, Athens, Rome and other places.[8] Fragments of these letters have been preserved for us by Eusebius. Early in the fourth century there were apparently separate churches or ecclesiastical provinces in Pannonia, Dacia, Mœsia, Thrace, Achaia and Macedonia.[9] A little later, according to the list given by Duchesne,[10] Eubœa had three bishop- Dionysius of Corinth.

[1] See Euseb, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 25.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 19.

[3] Hippol. *Philos.* vii. 35.

[4] Melito in Eus. *H. E.* iv. 26.

[5] Dionysius of Corinth in Eus. *H. E.* iv. 23.

[6] Ibid.

[7] *Clem. Alex. Strom.* iii. 2, 5.

[8] Harnack writes, "The tone of his letters which can be felt in the brief extracts of Eusebius, shows that he wrote to Athens and Lacedæmon as metropolitan, to Crete and Pontus as a colleague and equal, and to the bishop of Rome as a modest and admiring colleague." *Exp. of C.* ii. 231.

[9] Optatus bishop of Milevi (ii. 1), writing about 384, refers to the "ecclesia in tribus Pannoniis, in Dacia, Mœsia, Thracia, Achaia, Macedonia."

[10] *Les anciens évêches de la Grèce*, p. 14.

rics, Attica one, Northern Greece ten, and the Peloponnesus seven. It is probable that throughout the greater part of the Balkan peninsula, prior to the time of Constantine, the Christian population was small and chiefly confined to the towns. Of the missionary activities by which the Christian faith was spread we know nothing. The following references to Christians in various towns in the peninsula, whilst they prove the existence of Christian communities in the places mentioned, throw little light upon the means by which they were established. Polycarp addressed an epistle to the Christians at Philippi just before his martyrdom in 155, in which he specially exhorts them to refrain from covetousness, and recalls the teaching given to them by St. Paul. The metropolitan bishop of Thessalonica, Alexander, was present at the Council of Nicæa. According to the statement of Dionysius of Corinth, the first bishop of Athens was Dionysius the Areopagite.[1] The apologist Aristides and perhaps Clement of Alexandria came from Athens. Origen, who had spent some time in Athens, wrote, "The Church of God at Athens is a peaceable and orderly body, as it desires to please Almighty God."[2] Its bishop, Pistus, was present at Nicæa. On the other hand Gregory of Nazianzus, who was educated at Athens in the middle of the fourth century, refers to the strength of paganism and pagan teaching at that time.[3] Clement bishop of Rome, writing in A.D. 95 to the church at Corinth, after referring to the "detestable and unholy sedition" that had arisen in their midst,

Christianity confined to the towns.

Philippi.

Thessalonica.

Athens.

Corinth.

[1] Acts xvii. 34.

[2] *Contra Celsum*, iii. 30.

[3] See *Oration* 43, ch. xiv. See also statements by Libanius in *De vita sua*, p. 13.

praises them for their "stedfast faith" and that they "were ready unto every good work."[1] Hegesippus, a Jewish Christian, writing about 180, says, "the church of the Corinthians continued in the orthodox teaching till Primus was bishop in Corinth. I conversed with them in the course of my voyage to Rome and spent many days with the Corinthians during which we refreshed each other with orthodox teaching."[2] Origen speaks of the Christians at Corinth in the same terms as of those at Athens.[3] Dionysius of Corinth wrote a letter to the church of Lacedæmon enjoining peace and unity.[4] Of this church Harnack writes, "The fact of a Christian community existing in a country town like Lacedæmon by the year 170 proves that missionary work had been done from Corinth throughout the Peloponese, although, as we see from the subsequent period, Christianity only got a footing there with difficulty."[5]

Lacedæmon.

Philostorgius[6] relates how the Emperor Constantius brought what he believed to be the remains of St. Andrew and St. Luke from Achaia to Constantinople.[7]

Achaia.

There was a Christian church at Byzantium in Europe prior to the founding of Constantinople in 326.[8]

Byzantium.

Some Slavonic tribes who had settled in the interior

[1] *Ep. ad Cor.* i. and ii.

[2] Hegesippus in Eus. *H. E.* iv. 22.

[3] *Contra Celsum*, iii. 30.

[4] Eus. *H. E.* iv. 23.

[5] *Exp. of Christianity*, ii. 233 f.

[6] Philostorgius, iii. 2.

[7] Harnack writes, "It is not impossible that Andrew and Luke really died in Achaia." *Exp. of C.* ii. 234.

[8] Other places in which according to Harnack there was a Christian community before 325, in addition to those already mentioned, are Heraclea (Perinthus), Stobi in Macedonia, Thebes in Thessaly, Eubœa, Pele in Thessaly, Scupi (Uskub) in Dardania, Adrianopolis, Drizipara and Ephibata in Thrace, Buthrotum in Epirus and Pydna. *Exp. of C.* ii. p. 235.

The Peloponnesus.

of Hellas were converted by missionaries who were sent to them by the Emperor Basil, *circ.* 870, and about this time the Mainots, descendants of the ancient Greeks who inhabited the rocky fastnesses in the neighbourhood of Mount Taygetus in the south of the Peloponnesus, were forced to accept Christian baptism. Constantine Porphyrogenitus (905-59) refers to the obstinacy with which these had long clung to the pagan worship of the Greeks.[1]

Dalmatia.

St. Paul apparently visited Illyria[2] to the south of Dalmatia, which was afterwards included in Macedonia, and Titus went to Dalmatia.[3] Harnack writes, "The wealth of inscriptions which have been discovered reveals a considerable amount of Christianity in Dalmatia which may be held with great probability to go back to the pre-Constantine period, particularly as

Salona.

regards Salona where a local churchyard is traced back as far as the beginning of the second century."[4] Domnio bishop of Salona was martyred there under Diocletian. Four Christian stonemasons worked in the mines of Fruschka Gora, whither Cyril bishop of Antioch was also banished.

Mœsia.

We learn from the list of bishops who were present at Nicæa that there was at that time a bishop of Sardica in Upper Mœsia,[5] and one at Marcianopolis in Lower Mœsia near the shores of the Black Sea. From the *Acta Sanctorum* we learn that there had been Christian martyrs before this date at Dorostorum, Tomi, Axio-

[1] Constant. Porphyr. *de administ. imp.*; see Hardwick's *Middle Ages*, p. 136 n., and Chastel, *Destruct. du Paganisme*, p. 305 f.

[2] Rom. xv. 19.

[3] 2 Tim. iv. 10.

[4] *Exp. of C.* ii. p. 238.

[5] Known also as Dacia Aureliani, the scene of the Church Council, see above, pp. 91, 174.

polis and Noviodunum. There was also probably a bishopric at Naissus in Upper Mœsia.

Mœsians at Jerusalem.

Eusebius, describing the dedication of a church at Jerusalem, says that the Mœsians and Pannonians were represented by "the fairest bloom of God's youthful stock among them."[1] His words imply that Christianity had but recently spread in Mœsia and Pannonia.

Council of Sardica, 343.

At Sardica, the modern Sofia and the capital of Bulgaria, a Church Council was held in 343 during the Arian controversy. The Eastern bishops, having failed to agree with those who came from the West, withdrew and held a rival Council at Philippopolis.

The majority of the pagan temples in Greece remained intact, and the pagan ceremonial connected with them continued till nearly the end of the fourth century. The destruction of the temples and the abolition of pagan sacrifices were effected by the Gothic invaders who, after devastating the whole country between the Adriatic and the Euxine, forced the Pass of Thermopylæ in 396, and overran with fire and sword the whole of Greece. According to Eunapius[2] it was Greek monks who showed the Goths the Pass of Thermopylæ and helped them to invade Greece. The Goths had themselves been recently converted to Christianity. They razed Olympia[3] with its famous temple of Zeus and massacred its inhabitants. Athens alone was spared, in consequence apparently of a large bribe contributed by its inhabitants. The magnificent temple of Eleusis, famous during so many centuries for its mysterious

Invasion by the Goths.

[1] See below, p. 284, note.

[2] Eunap. *in Maxim.* p. 476.

[3] According to Cedrenus (*Hist. Synop.* i. 326) the last Olympic games were held in 393.

rites, was destroyed. Many Greeks, on hearing of the destruction of Eleusis and Olympia, are said to have committed suicide.[1] The temples, moreover, that escaped the ravages of the Goths were for the most part destroyed at the instigation of the Christian bishops. Early in the fifth century Chrysostom appealed to the rich landowners to build Christian churches on their estates to take the place of the temples that had been destroyed,[2] and in several of his letters that have been preserved he urges the monks and clergy to promote the destruction of heathen temples. In 432, or soon afterwards, the temple of Esculapius in Athens was destroyed and the statue of Minerva was removed from the Parthenon.[3] The schools of philosophy at Athens continued to be centres of pagan teaching till the reign of Justinian (527-65), who issued a decree addressed to the magistrates at Athens forbidding the teaching of philosophy.[4] A later decree issued by Justinian, probably in 531, threatens the punishment of death upon those who continue as pagans after having received baptism. It further orders all who have not been baptized to assemble, together with their wives, children and dependants, in churches and there to receive baptism, the administration of which in the case of adults was to be preceded by instruction in the Christian faith. Those who refused to be baptized were to be deprived of all their property and, if convicted of sacrificing to idols, were to be put to death.[5] Three months were allowed for the execution of this decree.

Forcible conversions under Justinian.

[1] Eunapius *in Prisc.* p. 482. See Chastel, *Destruction du Paganisme*, p. 232.

[2] Chrysostom, *Hom.* xviii. *in Act. Apost.* 1, 9.

[3] Marinus, *Vita Procli*, c. 29, 30.

[4] John Malalas, *Chron.* xviii.

[5] *Codex Justinian*, i. 11.

Paganism in Constantinople.

Constantinople was founded by a Christian Emperor and had no heathen traditions,[1] but, as the sermons and other writings of Chrysostom, who was bishop of Constantinople from 398 to 404, testify, much of the Christianity which prevailed there was superficial and was largely mingled with paganism. A heathen named Optatus was prefect of Constantinople in 404.[2]

Bishop Cyrus.

As an illustration of the pressure that was exerted by Theodosius II (408-450) to compel the profession of Christianity in Constantinople and of the superficiality of the conversions that resulted we may note the case of Cyrus, a leading patrician in Constantinople and a pagan. In order to save his life, when he had been accused as a pagan, he allowed himself to be ordained a priest. The Emperor then caused him to be made bishop of Cotyæum, a remote town in Phrygia. He reached this town at Christmas time, whereupon the people insisted that he should preach them a sermon suitable for the festival. The bishop, being compelled to comply with their request, spoke as follows, "Brethren, let the birth of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ be honoured by silence because by hearing alone was the Word conceived in the Sacred Virgin. To Him be glory for ever and ever. Amen." [3]

Baptism of pagans in Constantinople.

As late as the sixth century we read of the presence of pagans in Constantinople and of the means adopted by the Emperor Justinian in 546 for their conversion. By his orders a number of them were collected in a church where they received a brief instruction from

[1] Constantine prohibited from the first idols, sacrifices, pagan festivals and gladiatorial shows in Constantinople. *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 10, 1.

[2] Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 18.

[3] Joannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, xiv. p. 362. Migne, xcvii. col. 357 ff.

Bishop John who immediately afterwards baptized them all.[1] In 561 a number of heathen were discovered to be living in Constantinople, whereupon, their books and idols having been burnt, they were mutilated and led in disgrace through the streets of the city.[2]

Kumanians in Volhynia and Moldavia.

In the eleventh century the Kumanians who were akin to the Turks entered Europe and settled in Volhynia and Moldavia, the latter of which forms the northern province of Rumania, where many of them retained their pagan forms of religion. In 1220 the archbishop of Gran is said to have baptized the king of the Kumanians and a large number of his subjects,[3] but many of them remained as pagans. In 1340 some Franciscan missionaries in Szeret in Bukhovina were murdered by the inhabitants, whereupon an army of Hungarian crusaders marched into the country and compelled the inhabitants to accept baptism and to acknowledge the authority of the Pope, a bishopric being established by Pope Urban V at Szeret in 1370. A little later Moldavia was subdued by the Wallachians and the Christians became subject to the jurisdiction of the Eastern Church.

The Conversion of the Goths

Early history of the Goths.

The first appearance of the Goths[4] concerning which any historical details are available was in the lands north of the Lower Danube during the third century of

[1] This bishop was despatched in 556 on a mission in Asia Minor where he is said to have baptized 70,000 pagans. See *Destruction du Paganisme dans l'Orient* by Chastel, p. 289.

[2] John Malalas, *Chron.* xviii.

[3] See *Annales Spondani*, iii. 109.

[4] Most modern writers are of opinion that the Goths are not to be identified with the ancient Getæ. It seems certain that the point of departure for their migration south-

the Christian era. Their appearance on the borders of the Roman Empire dates from 238.

In the reign of Philip (244-248) they crossed the Danube and ravaged Mœsia (which included what is now the northern part of modern Serbia and Bulgaria), and in 251 the Emperor Decius fell fighting against them. Between 238 and 269 they made no less than ten inroads on the Roman Empire. Their first permanent settlement appears to have been in the Crimea about 268. In 274 the Roman legions were withdrawn from Dacia north of the Danube, and the occupation of this territory by the Goths was legally recognized. The first Goths to become Christian were settlers in the Crimea, who became Catholic as distinguished from Arian Christians.[1]

Goths in the Crimea, 268.

Athanasius, writing in 320 before the Council of Nicæa, refers to Christians amongst Goths and Scythians.[2] A Gothic bishop named Theophilus was present at this Council,[3] and whilst nothing is certainly known of the Christian community which he represented, it is probable that he represented a Gothic Church on the Cimmerian Bosphorus.[4]

wards was the southern shore of the Baltic Sea. They reached the Euxine early in the third century, travelling up the basin of the Vistula and down the valley of the Pruth, and settled for a time in what was afterwards known as Moldavia and Wallachia. They are to be identified with the Gothones mentioned by Tacitus (*Germania*, 43; *Ann.* ii. 62). See also Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 28.

[1] See Bessell, *Ueber das Leben des Ulfilas*, p. 115 f.

[2] *De Incarnatione Verbi*, c. 51, 52.

[3] Socrates, ii. 41. Migne, *P. Gr.* lxvii. col. 349.

[4] His signature is preceded by the words "de Gothis," and followed by "Bosporitanus." Another MS. reads "Provinciæ Gothiæ: Theophilus Gothiæ metropolis." According to the Paris MS. another signatory was Domnus Bosphorensis or Bosphoranus. This may have been another Gothic bishop. Bessell suggests that Domnus was the representative of the Orthodox Catholic Christians in the Crimea. See *Leben des U.* p. 116.

Cyril of Jerusalem about the middle of the fourth century refers to martyrs amongst the Goths.[1]

Eutyches, a missionary to the Goths, 360.

Basil of Cæsarea, in a letter addressed to Ascholius thanking him for the gift made to the Church of Cappadocia of relics of Gothic martyrs, after referring to a Cappadocian named Eutyches who had been a missionary amongst the Goths about 360,[2] writes, "No one of us stands near to Eutyches for worth, for we are so far from bringing to gentleness the barbarian by the power of the Spirit and the exercise of the gifts received from Him, that even those who are gently disposed are made fierce by the exceeding number of our sins."

Christian captives as missionaries.

In the raids made by the Goths along the southern shores of the Black Sea the captives whom they carried away included several clergy and other Christians, and it was by these that a knowledge of the faith was first introduced amongst the Goths. Thus Sozomen,[3] writing about 440, says: "To almost all the barbarians the opportunity of having Christian teaching proclaimed to them was offered by the war which took place at that time between the Romans and the other races, under the reign of Gallienus and his successors. For when in those reigns an untold multitude of mixed races passed over from Thrace, and overran Asia, while from different quarters different barbarian peoples treated in like manner the Romans who were their neighbours, many priests of Christ were taken prisoners and abode with them. And when they healed the sick who were there, cleansed those who had evil spirits by simply naming the name of Christ and calling on the

[1] *Catech.* x. 19.

[2] Basil, *Epp.;* Migne, *P. Gr.* xxxii. col. 636; Bessell, p. 113 n.

[3] *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 6. Migne, *P. Gr.* lxviii. col. 949.

Son of God, and further maintained a noble and blameless conversation, and overcame their reproach by their virtuous conduct, the barbarians marvelled at the men, their life and wonderful works, and acknowledged that they themselves would be wise and win the favour of God if they were to act after the manner of those who thus showed themselves to be better men and like them were to serve the right: so getting them to instruct them in their duty, they were taught and baptized and subsequently met as a congregation."

Ulfilas.

Philostorgius (*circ.* 358-427), who was a native of one of the districts in Asia Minor ravaged by the Goths, states that the captives carried to Europe by the Goths included the parents of Ulfilas,[1] who was afterwards to win for himself the title of Apostle of the Goths.[2] According to Philostorgius his parents came from Sadagolthina in the neighbourhood of Parnassus in Cappadocia. Doubts have been thrown upon the statement that Ulfilas was a Cappadocian, and the facts that his name is Gothic, and that his pupil Auxentius does not suggest that he was not of Gothic origin, and that in their negotiations with the Romans he was treated by the Goths as one of themselves tend to cast doubt upon the statement. The question is one which it is impossible to settle. Until within recent times we

Doubts concerning his nationality.

[1] The name has been variously spelt as Wulfila, Vulfila, Hulfila, Gulphilas, Οὐφίλας, and Οὐρφίλας. The first is perhaps the most correct form. It is supposed to mean "wolf-cub."

[2] See Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 5. In a letter addressed to Damasus, bishop of Rome, by Basil the Great, the latter reminds Damasus that Dionysius, a former bishop of Rome, had condoled with the Church in Cappadocia, in view of the Gothic raids to which it had been exposed, and had sent envoys to redeem the brethren who were captives. See Basil, *Ep.* 70; Migne, *P. Gr.* xxxii. col. 436.

were dependent for our knowledge of the life and character of Ulfilas upon Greek writers, who regarded him as a heretic and could not be relied upon to give an impartial account of his work, even when they possessed the necessary information. In 1840 a German scholar, Georg Waitz, discovered, written on the margin of a MS. in the Paris Library, a life of Ulfilas composed by one who had been his disciple, and who shared his religious convictions.[1] The author was Auxentius, an Arian bishop of Durostorum (Silistria), in Mœsia. In the first line which is legible, Auxentius refers to Ulfilas as one "of most decorous life, truly a confessor of Christ, a teacher of piety, and a setter forth of truth."[2]

Life of, by Auxentius.

Later on he describes him as "a man whom I am not competent to praise according to his merit, yet I dare not altogether keep silence; to whom I most of all men am a debtor, inasmuch as he bestowed more labour upon me (than upon any other) and received me from my earliest years from my parents as his disciple, and taught me the Holy Scriptures, and declared (unto me) the truth, and by the mercy of God and the grace of Christ brought me up both physically and spiritually as his own son in the faith."[3]

The teaching of Ulfilas.

The greater part of the MS. is occupied with an exposition of the doctrinal position of Ulfilas, and it contains hardly more than an outline of his life, nor does it include any reference to his work as a translator

[1] The MS. contained writing by Hilary and Ambrose. The writing in the margin, which is by Bishop Maximin, is, unfortunately, much defaced. For a copy of its contents and annotations see *Ueber des Leben und die Lehre des Ulfilas*, published by Waitz in Hanover in 1840.

[2] Folio 282. Waitz, p. 10.

[3] Waitz, p. 20.

of the Bible into the Gothic language. As showing that Ulfilas' religious beliefs remained the same throughout his life the words, which, according to Auxentius, were written by him just before his death, have special importance: "I, Ulfilas, bishop and confessor, have always so believed, and in the one true faith I make my testament to my Lord." [1]

His early life.

Ulfilas, who was born about 311,[2] and was brought up amongst the Goths, was sent in 332 either as an envoy, or as a hostage, to Constantinople, probably on the occasion of the treaty which was arranged in that year. Here he acquired the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages [3] which was to be of so great service to him later on. For some time before 341 he worked as a reader amongst his fellow-countrymen, either in Constantinople or amongst those attached to the imperial armies in Asia Minor.

His consecration as a bishop, 341.

In 341 he was consecrated as bishop of the Christian community in the land of the Goths by Eusebius (bishop of Nicomedia),[4] who was the leader of the

[1] "Ego Ulfilas episcopus et confessor semper sic credidi et in hac fide sola et vera testamentum facio ad Dominum meum." Waitz, p. 21. Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 41) states that at one period Ulfilas had embraced the Nicene faith. He writes: *τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οὐδὲν διεφέρετο πρὸς τὴν καθόλου ἐκκλησίαν*. Bessell suggests that this confession of faith and life of Ulfilas was prepared by Auxentius in order to be presented to the Emperor, and was read before him. See *Leben des U.* pp. 46-48.

[2] Waitz suggests 318. For a discussion of the chronology of Ulfilas' life see *Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths*, by Professor C. Anderson Scott, 1885, pp. 37-48. This is by far the most valuable book relating to the history of the Gothic Church which has appeared in recent times.

[3] Auxentius states that he frequently preached in Greek, Latin, and Gothic, and left behind "several treatises and many expositions in those three languages."

[4] Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 5. Bessell suggests (p. 10) that his consecration took place at the Semi-Arian Synod held at Antioch in 341, over which Eusebius presided.

Semi-Arian Party, and at the same time Theophilus was consecrated as a deacon.[1]

His work in Dacia.

During the next seven years he ministered to the Christians in Dacia, and won over many of the pagan Goths to a belief in Christianity. In 348 an impious judge (*sacrilegus judex*), who has, perhaps wrongly, been identified with Athanaric, one of the later leaders of the Goths, raised so bitter a persecution against the Christians that in order to save them from extinction Ulfilas applied to the Emperor for permission to cross the Danube and settle within the confines of the Roman Empire.

In Mœsia.

Auxentius refers thus to the origin of the persecution and its results: "By the envy and activity of the enemy . . . the persecution of the Christians was stirred up, so that Satan, who was eager to work evil, against his will worked good, so that those whom he wanted to make deniers of the faith and renegades, Christ aiding and defending them, became martyrs and confessors, with the result that the persecutor was confounded, and those who suffered persecution were crowned, and he who sought to overcome blushed in defeat, and they who were tried rejoiced as victors. Whereupon after the glorious martyrdom of many servants and handmaidens of Christ, when the persecution was still threatening, the most saintly man Ulfilas, after completing only seven years in his bishopric, was driven forth, together with a large body of confessors, from the barbarian land, and was received with honour on Roman soil by the Emperor Constantius of blessed memory; so that as God, by the hand of

[1] Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 6, and iii. 3 and 12.

Moses, liberated His people from the power and insolence of Pharaoh and the Egyptians, and caused them to pass over the Red Sea and procured them to be His servants, so did God by him whom we have mentioned set free from the barbarians the confessors of His only-begotten Son, and caused them to pass over the Danube and to serve Him in the mountains according to the manner of His saints."[1] Ulfilas and the Christian Goths settled in Mœsia at the foot of the Hæmus mountains in the neighbourhood of Nicopolis,[2] and the Goths soon developed into a peaceful and pastoral people. Jordanes, the Gothic historian, describes them as "a very numerous people . . . but poor and unwarlike, possessing nothing in abundance except cattle of different kinds and pastures and forests, having but little wheat, though their soil is rich in other kinds of produce—for the most part they are nourished on milk."[3] As we shall see later on, these Goths, whom Jordanes refers to as "Gothi minores," do not reappear in subsequent history. Some may perhaps have passed into Italy or Greece along with Alaric's troops, but the greater part became eventually absorbed in the peoples of Mœsia. Of the work done by Ulfilas amongst these Goths in Mœsia we have unfortunately almost no information. Sozomen, who was prejudiced against him on account of his tendency to Arianism, speaks of him as having misled the people by his teaching, though he gives him credit for having helped them to attain to a higher degree of civilization.[4] The work of Ulfilas amongst

Pastoral life of the Goths.

[1] Waitz, p. 20.

[2] This Nicopolis occupied the site of the modern Tirnova in Bulgaria, and lay within Mœsia Inferior.

[3] Jordanes; *De rebus Gothicis*, c. 51.

[4] Sozomen, vi. 37. Migne, *P. Gr.* lxvii. col. 1405.

the Goths north of the Danube was interrupted by his enforced flight, but by his homilies and treatises, and later on by his Bible translations and through the work of his disciples, he continued to exert a considerable influence, and it was doubtless due to his efforts and inspiration that their number continued steadily to increase. The Christians who were in touch with Ulfilas were regarded as Arians, but missionary work was also carried on by representatives of the orthodox Catholic party and in the persecution raised by Athanaric, king of the Goths, at the end of 369, which continued for four years, many suffered death who were followers of Athanasius.[1] There were also many martyrs amongst those who were called Audians. Audius, according to Epiphanius, began by being a zealous Church reformer in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, and later on having been accused of heresy and having been driven from Syria, made his way "into the interior of Gothia and instructed many of the Goths in Christian doctrine." He had been consecrated as a bishop in Palestine, and he himself consecrated a bishop named Silvanus as his successor in order to carry on his work amongst the Goths.[2]

Persecution by Athanaric, 369.

Audius.

Of the Christians who suffered during this persecu-

[1] St. Augustine, referring to this persecution, which, he says, was carried out with astonishing cruelty, writes: "Cum ibi non essent nisi catholici, quorum plurimi martyrio coronati sunt" (*De Civitate Dei*, xviii. 52). Theodoret refers to the Goths as having been brought up in "the teaching of the apostles" (iv. 37). See also Ambrose, *Expos. Evang. Luc.* i. c. 37. Ambrose writes: "Gothis non imperabat Augustus . . . imperabat Christus." On the other hand, Socrates, referring apparently to the same persecution, writes: "There suffered martyrdom at that time barbarians who were of the Arian party" (iv. 33).

[2] See Epiphanius *adv. Hæreses*, lib. iii. t. i. c. 14, and id. c. 2. See Migne, *P. Gr.* col. 371, 342.

tion Sozomen says that some were brought to trial and boldly confessed their faith, whilst others were killed without having been afforded an opportunity of witnessing for Christ. A wooden idol was placed upon a cart and was taken from village to village, and the Christians were summoned to come forth and worship and offer sacrifices to the idol. When they refused the heathen burnt the houses with the Christians inside. One of those who suffered, and who belonged apparently to the Orthodox party, was St. Saba,[1] who had been a Christian from his boyhood. When the heathen arrived at his village his friends, who desired to protect him from their fury, swore that there were no Christians in the village, but he suddenly appeared and said openly, "Let no one swear for me, for I am a Christian." On this occasion he was allowed to go free on the ground that he was so poor and obscure that he could do neither good nor harm. Later on, however, he was carried off together with a priest named Sansala, and having refused to eat meat that had been offered to idols he was eventually drowned in the river Musæus.

St. Saba.

In the Greek Calendar reference is made to the martyrdom of twenty-six Goths of whom two, Bathusis and Verekas, were priests. The commemoration of these martyrs is on March 26.

Yet another who persevered, in spite of threats and persecution, in preaching the faith, and who suffered as a martyr, was Nicetas, who is commemorated in the *Acta Sanctorum* for September 15.[2]

St. Nicetas.

[1] See *Acta Sanctorum*, April 12, pp. 88 ff.

[2] The story of Nicetas given in the *Acta Sanctorum* was taken from a tenth-century compiler named Metaphrast, and the original account dates back perhaps to the end of the fifth century. The story reads thus :

It is probable that this persecution was in part due to the hatred which Athanaric bore to the Roman Emperor Valens with whom he had been compelled to conclude a disadvantageous peace in 369. From this time forward we read of a Gothic chief named Frithigern, who became the leader of the Goths that were Christians or favoured the preaching of Christianity. When and under what circumstances Frithigern became a Christian it is impossible to determine. Having made an ineffective attempt to defend himself and his followers against Athanaric he crossed the Danube and appealed to Valens for help, and with the assistance of the Roman soldiers supplied by Valens he defeated Athanaric and established himself as an independent chief of the Goths north of the Danube. Shortly afterwards he applied to Valens to send to the Goths preachers from whom they might learn the rule of Christian faith.[1]

Frithigern.

In or about the year 375 the Huns attacked the

"The enemies of God threatened him, but he paid little attention to them, and went on preaching the true religion. At length, breaking forth into open violence, they attacked him while he was in the act of preaching the word of truth, dragged him away with force and violence, and ordered him to abjure his faith. He neither by word nor deed desisted from making open confession of Christ and honouring Him as God, but mocked and scorned at all their onslaughts; so when they had torn his body into pieces—ah! what madness—they then also flung him into the fire. But the saint, through all these sufferings, ceased not to sing hymns in praise of God, and to believe in Him in his heart. Thus witnessing a good confession to the very end he, with many of his countrymen, was deemed worthy of a crown of martyrdom, and gave up his spirit into the hands of God" (*Acta Sanctorum*, September 15, p. 41).

[1] See Orosius. It is impossible to reconcile fully the contradictory chronological statements made by Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Eutropius, Jordanes, and Orosius. I have followed the scheme of chronology suggested by Professor Scott. See *Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths*, pp. 89-103.

Goths who dwelt north of the Danube, with the result that a large section of them under Frithigern obtained permission from Valens in 376 to cross the Danube and settle in Roman territory.

Invasion by the Huns, 375.

Soon afterwards they quarrelled with the Roman authorities, and in the battle of Adrianople, which took place in 378, they overthrew the Roman army and killed the Emperor Valens. His successor, Theodosius, made peace with the Goths, and granted them permission to settle along the course of the Danube from Pannonia to Mœsia.

Battle of Adrianople, 378.

Eunapius, a contemporary heathen writer, describes the crossing of the Danube by a party of Goths, who, apparently in 380, came to join Frithigern's victorious troops, and of whom many were still heathen.[1] He states that the tribes crossed in great numbers, and that each tribe brought its own idols, together with priests and priestesses. In order apparently to deceive the Roman officials, who might have objected to a multitude of heathen entering Roman territory, they dressed up some to represent bishops and placed them in front and in the midst of those who desired to cross. Others were dressed by them as monks, for, wrote Eunapius, it "sufficed if they swept along in dark robes and tunics, and both were and were thought to be scoundrels," for those who awaited them on the southern bank were "so sunk in foolishness that they were clearly and immovably convinced that they were Christians and followed all the rites." [2]

Crossing of the Danube by Goths, 380.

[1] Eunapius, Frag. 46, ed. Niebuhr 82. Professor Scott rightly maintains that this description applies to the crossing of the tribes in 380, not, as Niebuhr supposed, to the crossing in 376. See *Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths*, pp. 100 ff.

[2] In estimating the historical value

Ulfilas at Council of Constantinople, 360.

According to Sozomen and Socrates Ulfilas attended a Council of Arian bishops held at Constantinople in 360, at which a creed resembling that of Rimini was drawn up, which recognized the likeness of the Son to the Father "in such a manner as the Holy Scriptures declare and teach," but forbade the use of the terms "essence" and "substance" (οὐσία and ὑπόστασις) as unscriptural and liable to be misunderstood by the common people.[1] Ulfilas was one of those who subscribed this creed.

Was Ulfilas an Arian?

It is difficult to say how far the term Arian can justly be applied to Ulfilas. His views were certainly far removed from those which many of the followers of Arius held. Professor Gwatkin writes concerning him: "Ulfilas was only accidentally an Arian: streams rise above their source in mission-work, and we cannot judge of Ulfilas by Eudoxius and Demophilus any more than of Wilfrid and Boniface by the image-worshipping popes of the eighth century."[2] His views were, in fact, almost equally opposed to those of the Arians and of the followers of Athanasius. The only authoritative statement of his belief is the written confession of faith which, according to Auxentius, he drew up just before his death, and which is, unfortunately, fragmentary and incomplete. It reads: "I, Ulfilas, bishop and confessor, have always thus believed, and in this only and true faith I make my testament to my Lord. I believe that there is one God the Father, alone, unbegotten and invisible, and I believe in His only-

The Confession of Ulfilas.

of this description it is necessary to bear in mind that the writer was a pagan, who was hostile to the teaching of Christianity.

[1] Sozomen, vi. 37. Socrates, ii. 41.

[2] *Studies of Arianism*, 1900, by H. M. Gwatkin, p. 27 n.

begotten Son our Lord and God the Framer (*opifex*) and Maker of the whole creation, who has none like unto Him—therefore there is one God of all[1] . . . and I believe in one Holy Spirit, an enlightening and sanctifying power . . . neither God nor Lord, but the Minister of Christ." [2]

His denunciation of heretics.

Whatever views Ulfilas held they were far from being vague or indistinct, and he was prepared to denounce with vigour all whom he regarded as heretical. Thus Auxentius writes: "In his preaching or expounding he maintained that all heretics were not Christians but anti-Christs, not pious but impious, not religious but irreligious, not reverent but rash, not in hope but without hope, not worshippers of God but without God, not doctors but seducers, not preachers but prevaricators." "But," he continues, "as a true emulator of the Apostles and imitator of the martyrs, having made himself an enemy of the heretics, he repelled their evil doctrine and built up a people of God, while he put to flight the grievous wolves and dogs, the workers of evil, and through the grace of Christ kept his flock as a good shepherd with all prudence and diligence." [3]

His translation of the Bible.

The work by means of which Ulfilas exerted the widest and most enduring influence, and which distinguished him from all his missionary predecessors, was his translation of the Bible into the Gothic language. The importance and significance of this work of translation has been well described by Professor Max Müller, who writes: "Ulfilas must have been a man of extra-

[1] The MS., according to Waitz, continues "qui et de nostris est Deus," or, according to Bessell, "qui et Dei nostri est Deus."

[2] See Waitz, p. 21.

[3] The list of those whom he specially denounced includes Homoousians and Homoiousians. See Waitz, p. 19.

ordinary power to conceive, for the first time, the idea of translating the Bible into the vulgar language of his people. At his time there existed in Europe but two languages which a Christian bishop would have thought himself justified in employing, Greek and Latin. All other languages were still considered as barbarous. It required a prophetic insight and a faith in the destinies of those half-savage tribes, and a conviction also of the utter effeteness of the Roman and Byzantine Empires, before a bishop could have brought himself to translate the Bible into the vulgar dialect of his barbarous countrymen." [1] Translations of the Bible, or of parts of the Bible, had previously been made into Syrian and Egyptian dialects, but these were already literary languages. Ulfilas was the first to translate the Bible into a language in which no literature of any kind existed at the time. According to Philostorgius and other Greek writers, Ulfilas not only translated the Bible into Gothic but invented the characters in which the translation was written. Thus, Philostorgius writes: "Besides all the other ways in which he ministered to his people he also invented for them letters of their own and translated into their own tongue the whole of the Scriptures except indeed the (four) Books of the Kings." [2] His reason for omitting these was his fear lest the warlike propensities of his fellow-countrymen should be encouraged by reading of wars which had received divine sanction. The Gothic Bible is referred

The Gothic alphabet.

[1] *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 175.

[2] *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 3. See also Socrates, iv. 33; Sozomen, vi. 37, and the Acta Nicetæ in *Acta SS.*, September 15, p. 41. The statement that Ulfilas invented the alphabet of which he made use has been controverted by Grimm and others. See Waitz, p. 52.

to by several writers in the fifth century, but after this it practically disappeared for a thousand years.[1] At the end of the fifteenth, or beginning of the sixteenth, century a Gothic MS. containing the greater part of the Gospels was found at Werden, near Cologne, and was eventually presented to the University of Upsala, where it is now preserved. In 1736 part of the Epistle to the Romans was discovered at Wolfenbüttel, and in 1817 Cardinal Mai discovered at Bobbio further portions of the New Testament and a few verses of Nehemiah and Esdras. The Bobbio MSS. appear to date from the sixth century, and there is every reason to suppose that they and the MS. found at Werden represent the work of Ulfilas. These translations furnish practically the only specimens of the Gothic language which exist,[2] and are therefore of inestimable value from a philological standpoint. In the Acta Nicetæ it is stated that Ulfilas translated from the Greek, but the version reveals also the influence of some of the Latin MSS. Possibly changes in accordance with Latin readings were introduced into his version after the Goths had left Mœsia and had travelled west. The version shows few, if any, traces of Arian

Disappearance of the Gothic Bible.

Re-discovery of fragments.

Character of the version.

[1] In 842 Strabo, abbot of Reichenau, wrote: "Studiosi illius gentis divinos libros in suæ locutionis proprietatem transtulerunt, quorum adhuc monumenta apud nonnullos exstant." The Gothic Bible was used by the Vandals, whose language closely resembled Gothic. See *Das älteste germanische Christentum*, H. von Schubert, p. 15. The Italian scholar, Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609), states that the Pericopean Tartars possessed copies of the Old Testament and New Testament in the same language and same characters as those of Ulfilas (*Isagog.* iii. 347).

[2] Reccared (in Spain) was the first Gothic prince to become a Catholic (586). After doing so he collected and burned all the Gothic books which he could get hold of. See Fredegar, *Chronicon*, c. viii., *Mon. Germ. S.R.M.* ii. 125: "Omnes libros Arianos precepit ut sibi presententur, quos in una domo conlocatos incendio concremare jussit."

belief[1] on the part of the translator. After pointing out that sin was regarded by the Goths as the transgression of a law which exposed the transgressor to the payment of a penalty, Professor Scott writes: "Parallel with the notion of sin as a crime and redemption as the payment of the penalty it had entailed was the conviction, deep-rooted in Teutonic thought and language, that sin was a disease and the Redeemer a Healer. This also might be abundantly illustrated from the Gothic version. The Greek σώζειν (to save) with all its forms and derivatives is represented by the Gothic *nasjan* and its derivatives. Salvation was regarded as 'healing': above all the Saviour was the *Nasjands*—the Healer."[2]

A commentary on St. John.

In addition to the portions of the Gothic Bible which still exist, a fragment of a commentary on the Gospel of St. John has been preserved which is written in the same language as that of the Bible. This is a fragment of the many treatises which, according to Auxentius, Ulfilas composed for the benefit of the Gothic Christians.

Ulfilas' missionary labours.

To return once more to the story of Ulfilas' missionary labours, Auxentius sums up, all too briefly, his account of his master's work thus: "Preaching and giving thanks with love to God the Father through Christ he flourished gloriously for forty years in his bishopric, and with apostolic grace he preached in the Greek and Latin and Gothic languages without inter-

[1] Thus the words in Rom. ix. 5, "Christ who is over all God blessed for ever," are rendered quite literally. In his rendering of Philippians ii. 6, "He counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God," he translates the expression τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ by the Gothic *galeiko gutha*, which is equivalent to "like to God." He might, however, have used here the Gothic word *ibna*—*i.e.* "equal" or "even."

[2] P. 136.

mission in the one only Church of Christ, for one is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth, and he used to assert and contend that one is the flock of Christ our Lord and God, one husbandry, one building, one virgin, one spouse, one kingdom, one vineyard, one house, one temple, one assembly (*conventus*) of Christians, all other meetings being not churches of God but synagogues of Satan." [1]

His death at Constantinople, 381.

In 381, when he was now seventy years of age, Ulfilas was summoned by the Emperor Theodosius to attend a council which was to be held at Constantinople. It appears that a dispute had arisen amongst the Arians in Constantinople, and it was hoped that Ulfilas might be able to mediate. His long-continued labours had already weakened his health, and on reaching Constantinople he died, before he had attempted to fulfil the object for which he had been summoned. His disciple writes: "It behoves us to consider the merit of the man who by the guidance of the Lord came to die at Constantinople, nay, rather at Christianople, so that the holy and stainless priest of Christ might, conformably to his merits, be marvellously and splendidly honoured by saints and fellow-priests, the worthy man in worthy fashion by worthy men, and at the hands of so great a multitude of Christians." [2]

The work accomplished by Ulfilas.

The figure of Ulfilas, in so far as we can discern it through the mists of time and as it is portrayed in the writings of his prejudiced opponents, is that of a man who rose far above the atmosphere of religious controversy which distinguished his age, and who devoted his life to active toil, and his great literary powers to

[1] Waitz, p. 19.

[2] Auxentius, see Waitz, p. 19.

the provision of a version of the Sacred Scriptures which, whilst it has outlasted the political existence of his race, has provided an example and furnished a standard for all succeeding generations. Without undervaluing the work of his contemporary, St. Martin of Tours, we may say that he was the greatest missionary who had laboured in Europe subsequent to the death of St. Paul. Selenas, who had been the amanuensis of Ulfilas, succeeded him as bishop, and for the next fifteen years the Goths lived a peaceful and settled life, whilst the followers and pupils of Ulfilas carried on his work, the fruits of which were seen in the subsequent development of the national character to which later historians were to bear warm testimony.[1] Thus, Salvian, a Catholic priest of Marseilles, writing in the fifth century, speaks with approval of the chastity of the Arian Goths, of their piety according to their own creed, and their tolerance towards the Catholics who were under their rule. He even ventures to express a hope that such good people may be saved notwithstanding their heretical opinions.[2]

Testimony by Jerome.

Again, Jerome, writing from Palestine in 403, in reply to a letter received from two Goths, who had written to consult him in regard to the meaning of a verse in the Psalms, says: "Who would have believed that the barbarian tongue of the Goths would inquire respecting the pure sense of the Hebrew original?" In another letter he spoke of the red and yellow haired Goths carrying the church about with them in tents, and suggests that for this reason they battled with

[1] See Scott, p. 149.

[2] *De gubernatione Dei*, vii. 9, 11, 15. Migne, *P. L.* liii.

equal fortune against the Romans because they trusted in the same religion.[1]

On the death of the Emperor Theodosius in 395 the Goths ceased to own allegiance to the Empire and chose Alaric as their king. The greater part of those settled in Mœsia probably followed Alaric in some of his many campaigns, and of those who remained some were induced by the missionaries sent out by Chrysostom to join the Catholic Church.[2] We read that in a church set apart for the use of the Goths in Constantinople Chrysostom himself frequently preached to them by means of an interpreter. This teaching was eventually interrupted by an appalling outbreak of religious fanaticism on the part of the inhabitants of Constantinople. Gainas, a Goth and an officer in the Imperial army, having persuaded the Emperor to approve his suggestion that one of the churches in the city should be given up for the use of the Arian Goths, the Catholic Christians rose and murdered 7000 of the "barbarians" and those who took refuge in one of the churches were burnt to death, the church having been set on fire by the populace.[3] In response to a request from the "king of Gothia," who apparently lived in the Crimea, to send a bishop to the Church in his country, Chrysostom, before his banishment from Constantinople, had sent Unila.[4] Three years later he heard in his banishment of the death of Unila and wrote to try to prevent a successor being conse-

Alaric king of the Goths, 395.

Massacre of Goths in Constantinople.

Bishop Unila.

[1] *Epp.* 98 and 107: "Rutilus et flavus exercitus ecclesiarum circumfert tentoria."

[2] See Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 28, 30.

[3] Socrates, vi. 6; Sozomen, viii. 4, and Theodoret, v. 33.

[4] Chrysostom, *Ep. ad Olympiadem*, xiv. 1.

crated by his Arian successor at Constantinople, the Church to which Unila was sent being Catholic. Later on the Emperor Justinian sent the Goths a bishop, and they were thenceforth connected with the Greek Church.[1] The Goths who overran Italy, Spain, and other countries were accompanied by Christian bishops, one of whom Sigesarius, after the capture of Rome, baptized the Emperor Attalus,[2] whilst another named Maximin,[3] was present with the Gothic troops at Carthage in 427.

Goths in Italy,

When the Goths invaded Gaul they established an extensive and well-organized Church to which Gregory of Tours frequently refers.[4] Nor did they neglect to act as missionaries amongst the pagans. Thus, Sidonius Apollinaris (d. 492) says that he saw one Modoharius "brandishing darts of heresy" whilst working as an Arian missionary amongst the Burgundians.[5] With the reception into the Catholic Church of Reccared, the king of the Goths in Spain (586), the last branch of the Gothic Church came to an end, and the influence of the Goths as a factor in European history ceased to exist.

in Gaul,

and in Spain.

We have already quoted testimonies to the good qualities which their bitterest foes were constrained to attribute to the Gothic soldiers, and which they recognized as the fruits of their religious belief. We would conclude this brief sketch of the conversion of

[1] Procopius, *B. G.* iv. 4, 5. The bishop's seat was at Kapha, and a bishop entitled ὁ Γοτθίας appears in the Acts of the Byzantine Synod as late as the eighteenth century.

[2] Sozomen, ix. 8.

[3] Possid. *Vita August.* c. 17; Migne, *P. L.* xxxii. 48.

[4] *Hist. Franc.* v. 8; *De gloria Confess.* c. 48, etc.

[5] *Ep.* vii. 6.

the Goths by quoting the words of St. Augustine, written with reference to the conduct of the Goths on the occasion of the capture of Rome by Alaric. After stating that the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul and the chapels of the martyrs were left untouched and that the lives of all who sheltered therein were preserved, he writes: "He who does not see that the thanks for this are due to the name of Christ and to the Christian times is blind: he who does see it, and praises not God, knows no gratitude, whilst he who resists the man who (on this account) offers praise is bereft of reason." [1]

Testimony of Augustine.

Bulgaria

Before the close of the seventh century the Bulgarians, who had originally come from central Asia, had occupied the greater part of Macedonia and Epirus. Having conquered the Slavonic inhabitants of these districts they adopted their language and customs and eventually by intermarriage became identified with them. Christianity was introduced amongst them in 813 when, in the course of a raid upon territory belonging to the Roman empire, they captured Adrianople and carried captive a number of Christians, including a bishop. The bishop and many of his fellow-captives eventually died a martyr's death. After the lapse of nearly fifty years a monk named Constantine Cypharas, who had been carried captive by the Bulgarians, endeavoured to preach

Bulgarians in the seventh century.

Introduction of Christianity, 813.

Cypharas.

[1] "Hoc Christi nomini, hoc Christiano tempori tribuendum quisquis non videt, cæcus; quisquis videt nec laudat, ingratus; quisquis laudanti reluctatur, insanus est. *De civitate Dei*, lib. i. c. 7; Migne, *P. L.* xli. col. 20. See also Orosius, vii. 39.

to them the Christian faith.[1] In 861 a sister of the Bulgarian prince Bogoris, who had apparently been held as a captive at Constantinople for several years, and who had been baptized there as a Christian, was restored to her own country, Cypharas being at the same time released and sent back to Constantinople. She endeavoured, though at first without success, to impart to her brother her new faith, but eventually

Bogoris.

in a time of severe famine Bogoris was induced to solicit aid from the God of the Christians and, the famine having come to an end, he showed a disposition to listen to the entreaties of his sister that he should accept the Christian faith. According to a story, which rests however upon very slender evidence, the sister of Bogoris had sent for a skilful artist named Methodius, who has sometimes been identified with the well-known missionary to the Moravians,[2] in order that he might paint some scenes to adorn the walls of Bogoris' palace. Cedrenus relates that Methodius, instead of painting hunting scenes on the walls of the

Methodius paints a picture of the final Judgment.

palace as Bogoris had requested, produced a picture representing the final Judgment, the effect of which was so great that Bogoris expressed a desire to receive Christian instruction.

Baptism of Bogoris.

He was baptized in 863 or 864 by the name Michael, the Emperor Michael (though not present on the occasion) being his godfather.[3] After his baptism

[1] See Cedreni, *Annales*, p. 443.

[2] See below, p. 293.

[3] His baptism took place at midnight as it was feared that it would excite the forcible opposition of the Bulgarians. It would appear that the baptism of Bogoris was not unconnected with political motives, as, according to the Greek writers, a tract of land afterwards called Zagora, south of the Balkan range, was given to the Bulgarians as a baptismal donation.

he received a long letter from Photius the Patriarch of Constantinople which was largely concerned with minutiæ of theological controversy, and in which he exhorted him to take measures for the conversion of his people. Although Photius had advised him to forgo the use of force in promoting the conversion of his people, he proceeded to compel them to follow his example, with the result that an insurrection occurred, which he suppressed with great cruelty, all the rebellious nobles and their families being massacred. Photius had not apparently troubled to send any missionaries to assist Bogoris in the evangelization of the country, and several unauthorized and uneducated Greeks began to disseminate various superstitions and heresies. One who pretended to be a priest baptized many, but when his followers discovered that he had deceived them they cut off his nose and ears and expelled him from their country.[1] There arrived also Roman and Armenian missionaries who spoke against the teachings of the Greeks, and commended the doctrines of their own Churches. Moved, partly by the refusal of the Greek Patriarch to consecrate a bishop for Bulgaria and partly by political reasons, Bogoris now applied for help (865) to Pope Nicholas I and to the Emperor Louis II of Germany. The Pope replied by sending two Italian bishops, Paul and Formosus, who took with them a detailed reply to 106 questions that Bogoris had asked, relating to the conduct of converts to the Christian faith.[2] The Pope's letter compares favourably with the letter which had been

Letter from Photius.

Forcible conversions.

Unauthorized missionaries.

Bogoris applies to Pope Nicholas.

The Pope's letter.

[1] Letter of Nicolaus. See Migne, *P. Gr.* iii. col. 39, 46 and 98.

[2] See letter of Nicholas I, Migne, *P. L.* cxix. col. 978 ff.; Harduin, *Concil.* v. p. 757; also Hefele, *Councils*, iv. 437-441.

received from Photius and displays an intelligent appreciation of the needs and difficulties of those who were striving to abandon heathen customs and to live a Christian life.

The questions asked by Bogoris and the answers given by the Pope are of considerable interest from a missionary standpoint and throw light upon the conditions attaching to the work of the early missionaries both in Bulgaria and elsewhere.

The Pope rebukes Bogoris for the cruelty with which he had suppressed the rebellion that had followed his own baptism, and specially for his massacre of women and children. He urges that those who were unwilling to abandon idolatry should be reasoned with and exhorted rather than coerced, inasmuch as "nothing can be good which is not the outcome of free action."[1] God asks of man a voluntary obedience; had He chosen to use force none could have resisted His will: intercourse with those who refused to become Christians must be avoided, but they must be left to God's judgment: in the case of those who had become Christians and had fallen back into idolatry, force should be employed to reconvert them, as their case is similar to that of blasphemers who, according to the laws contained in the Old Testament, were to be punished with death.[2]

The Pope defended the Greek whose nose and ears the Bulgarians had cut off on the ground that such pious deception was lawful when the object

[1] He writes, "porro illis violentia ut credant nullatenus inferenda est, nam omne quod ex voto non est bonum esse non potest." Migne, *P. L.* cxix. col. 995, see also col. 1014, "non esse inferendam pagano violentiam ut Christianus fiat docuimus."

[2] Id. col. 990.

in view was the conversion of heathen to the true faith.[1]

Baptism administered by Jews.

In reply to a question whether a number of baptisms which had been administered by a Jew, whose own conversion to Christianity was doubtful, were valid the Pope urges their validity on the ground that they had been administered in the name of the Trinity.

The wearing of the cross.

In answer to the question asked him concerning the wearing of the cross he explained that, as Christ had commanded that men should bear the cross in their hearts, they should also wear it on their bodies in order that they may be constantly reminded of their duty to bear it in their hearts. The wearing of the cross should denote mortification of the flesh and compassion towards others.

Abstention from work on festival days.

In answer to a question concerning the obligation to rest from labour on festival days he replied that men were bound to rest from labour on festival days in order that they might have leisure to attend Church, to occupy themselves with prayer, with spiritual songs and the divine word, to imitate the example of the saints and to distribute alms among the poor, but that if a man neglected these things and squandered away in idle amusements the time taken from lawful occupations, he would do better to labour on such days with his own hands, that he might have something to give to the needy and suffering.

In answer to a question what they were to do in time of war if the enemy attacked them while they were saying their prayers in church, he replied that

[1] He further maintained that the baptism administered by the pretended priest was valid. Migne, *P. L.* cxix. col. 986.

devotions thus begun might be finished in any other place, for Christians were not confined to any particular place of prayer, as the Jews in olden time were to Jerusalem.[1]

Self-defence by Christians.

All wars and contentions, he says, come from the temptations of the great adversary: hence they ought, if possible, to be avoided, not only in times of fasting but always. But in cases of necessity when men are called upon to prepare for war in defence of their country or its laws, it would be improper to lay aside these preparations, for to do so would be tempting God by neglecting to do all that lies in our power for our own good and that of others, or for preventing any injury which might be done to religion.

After explaining to the Bulgarians that by their baptismal vow they had renounced all acts of divination and sorcery and the superstitious observance of days and hours, to which they had formerly been accustomed to resort when about to engage in war, he writes that the preparation for fighting a battle on the side of religion should consist in repairing to Church, offering up prayer, celebrating the mass, confessing sins, forgiving those who had injured them, opening the prisons and setting the prisoners free, restoring freedom to the slaves, especially to the sick and the feeble, and distributing alms to the needy.[2]

Preparations for battle.

The treatment of emigrants.

In answer to the question what ought to be done to a freeman who tried to leave his country, the Pope replied that he should be treated in accordance with the laws of the country, but he added that many holy men, as Abraham, had left their native country without

[1] Migne, *P. L.* cxix. col. 1007.

[2] Id. col. 993.

being considered, for this reason alone, to have done anything criminal.

Social customs.

In reply to a question whether the Bulgarian custom that the king should allow no person to eat with him ought to be observed, the Pope replied that in olden times kings, many of whom were deemed worthy of holding communion with the saints, ate with their friends, nay even with their servants. The King of kings and Lord of lords, the Saviour, ate not only with His servants and friends the apostles, but also with publicans and sinners.[1]

Prayers for heathen fore-fathers forbidden.

The answer to one question, viz. that relating to the lawfulness of praying for the salvation of their fore-fathers, grates harshly upon our ears. It was similar to that given by Wulfram to the Frisian king Radbod.[2] The Pope quotes the reference by St. John (1 Jn. v. 16) to the "sin unto death" and says that prayer in such a case could not be allowed.[3] In conclusion he promised to send them a bishop and later on perhaps a patriarch.

Rival claims of Photius and the Pope.

After the return of the two bishops whom Pope Nicholas had sent the Bulgarians still hesitated whether to ally themselves with Constantinople or with Rome. The Patriarch Photius claimed their allegiance on the ground that he had baptized Bogoris, whilst the Pope claimed it on the ground that their country had always been within the limits of the Roman empire. In a circular letter addressed to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch, Photius denounced the intrusion of the Pope. In an earlier letter ad-

[1] Migne, *P. L.* cxix. col. 996.

[2] See p. 339.

[3] Id. col. 1011, "pro parentibus vestris qui infideles mortui sunt propter peccatum incredulitatis non licet."

dressed to the bishops of the East in 869 Photius wrote: "Moreover the barbarous race of Bulgarians, which was hostile to Christ, is become so gentle and mindful of God that, abandoning their ancestral and devilish orgies and putting off the deceit of Hellenic superstition, contrary to all expectation they have been engrafted into the faith of Christians."[1] At length, and notwithstanding the warnings of Pope John VIII,[2] the Bulgarians finally threw in their lot with the Greek Church and a Greek archbishop and Greek bishops were received and set over the Bulgarian Church,[3] the place of honour next after the Greek patriarch being henceforth conceded to the archbishop of Bulgaria.

Reception of Greek bishops.

After the death of Methodius some of his fellow-missionaries were forced to leave Moravia and, having been welcomed by Bogoris (886), they acted as missionaries to the Bulgarians in Western Macedonia. One of these, Clement, a native of Achrida (now Ochrida), founded a monastery in that city which is on the confines of Western Macedonia and Albania. Here he gathered round him a number of young men whom he trained as teachers. He also composed simple homilies in the Bulgarian language for their use.

Clement of Achrida.

Before his death in 916 he became bishop of Belitza, this being the first see established in this district. A monastery at the southern end of the lake of Ochrida is called after one of his fellow-missionaries St. Naum.

[1] *Epp. Photii*, xiii. Migne, *P. Gr.* cii. col. 724.

[2] See *Epistola ad Michælem* (878). Migne, *P. L.* cxxvi. col. 758.

[3] See *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Jireček, p. 157. The first Greek bishop was named Joseph.

During the reign of Simeon (893-927) the younger son of Bogoris, Christianity was established as the religion of the people. After his death the Russians and Petchenegs invaded the country. In 1019 the Bulgarians acknowledged the supremacy of the Greek Emperor Basilius. In the twelfth century a successful insurrection resulted in the formation of a Bulgaro-Wallachian kingdom which maintained itself against attacks from Hungarians on the one side and Byzantines on the other and which eventually included Macedonia and Thrace. It was overrun by the Tartars, and was at length subjugated by Turkey after the battle of Kossovo in 1389. Later history of Bulgaria.

In 923 the Greek Emperor agreed to acknowledge as a patriarch the archbishop of Bulgaria: in 972 the patriarchal dignity was abolished but was soon afterwards revived: in 1018 it was again abolished. In 1767 the last independent archbishop of Bulgaria was forced by the Turks to resign and the see was incorporated in the patriarchate of Constantinople. In 1870 a separate exarchate was recognized by the Porte. A patriarch of Bulgaria, 923.

CHAPTER IX

SPAIN

Traditions relating to St. James.

THE tradition that St. James (Iago) was the first to preach the Gospel in Spain, although universally accepted in Spain to-day and definitely endorsed by a decree of Pope Leo XIII in 1884, rests on no historical basis and is quite untenable. The tradition does not in fact date back earlier than the seventh century.[1] A later legend asserts that his body was transported to Spain immediately after his martyrdom in Palestine, and one still later declares that his bones were transported to Spain in the seventh or eighth century. Pope Clement VIII altered the statement in the Roman Breviary of 1568 that James "travelled through Spain and there preached the gospel" into "it is the tradition of the churches of that province that he went to Spain and there made some converts to the faith" (ed. 1603), but the Spanish Church and king having protested, the original assertion was restored, with an additional statement to the effect that of the converts made by St. James seven were ordained bishops by St. Peter and were the first to be sent to Spain.[2] There

[1] It first appears in a treatise entitled "De ortu et obitu patrum," assigned to Isidore bishop of Seville, 600-36.

[2] Dr Döllinger in a lecture given at Munich in 1884 said, "That the Apostle James the Great came to Spain to preach the Faith contradicts equally the Bible and history, but since the tenth century this has been in Spain an unassailable fact; he is the patron saint of the land to

is no good reason to doubt that St. Paul fulfilled his expressed intention of preaching the Gospel in Spain.[1] St. Clement of Rome, writing about thirty years after the death of St. Paul, says that he "preached in the East and the West . . . having taught righteousness unto the whole world and having reached the farthest bounds of the West."[2] The Muratorian Fragment (*circ.* 170) refers to "the journey of Paul from the city to Spain." The last resistance of Spanish peoples to Roman arms was overcome in B.C. 25, and by the time that St. Paul would have reached Spain Roman civilisation had been introduced and had to a large extent spread throughout the country. Thus Mommsen writes, "When Augustus died, the Roman language and Roman customs predominated in Andalusia, Granada, Murcia, Valencia, Catalonia and Aragon, and a large proportion of these results is to be attributed to a Romanizing and not to a colonizing process."[3] It does not appear that St. Paul founded any churches in Spain which survived, and it is probable that the earliest Christian communities were the result of communications between Spain and the Christians of Lyons and Vienne. Irenæus[4] bishop of Lyons (178-202) refers to the existence of a church in Spain. Tertullian[5] (*circ.* 200) declares that "all the confines of Spain have yielded to Christ," and Arnobius[6]

St. Paul in Spain.

Roman civilisation in Spain.

Earliest Christian communities.

this day; every Spaniard maintains it in the face of the world." See *The Church in Spain*, by F. Meyrick, p. 3.

[1] Rom. xv. 24-28; 2 Cor. i. 17.

[2] *Ep. ad Cor.* i. 5. The expression τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως at the time when Clement wrote would have been universally understood as applying to Spain.

[3] *Hist. of Rome*, Eng. ed., i. 63.

[4] i. 10, 2.

[5] *Adv. Judæos*, vii. See also *Adv. Gentes*, i. 16.

[6] i. 16.

(*circ.* 306) speaks of "innumerable" Christians in Spain. Unfortunately, no accounts have been preserved which throw any light upon the activities of the earliest missionaries, or upon the methods of evangelization which they adopted.[1] There is reason to fear that their work was more superficial than was the case in any other country in Europe. When at last the Spanish Church emerges into daylight, the first account that has been preserved concerns a dispute which had arisen between four bishops and which was referred for settlement to Stephen bishop of Rome and Cyprian bishop of Carthage. Two bishops named Basilides and Martial, whose sees were Leon-Astorga and Merida, had failed to act as confessors during an outbreak of persecution in 254 and had delivered to the Roman magistrate a certificate (*libellus*) which implied that they had renounced their Christianity and had performed pagan rites. For this offence and for other alleged crimes they had been deposed and successors had been appointed. They had, however, refused to give way to their successors. Stephen supported the cause of the deposed bishops but Cyprian,[2] whose judgment was accepted by the Spanish Church, confirmed their deposition and secured the installation of their successors. From Cyprian's letter we gather that numerous Christian communities existed in Spain and that their bishops had already formed a synod of their own. We gather also that the character of the bishops

Basilides and Martial.

Judgment by Cyprian.

[1] Leclercq refers to "la pénurie, presque incroyable, de textes concernant le Christianisme dans la péninsule pendant les quatres premiers siècles de notre ère," p. 102.

[2] *Ep.* lxviii. (A.D. 258). See Migne, *P. L.* iii. col. 1019.

was more secular than was the case in Africa or elsewhere.

In the course of the next fifty years several Spanish Christians suffered martyrdom during the persecutions of Valerian, 256-260, and Diocletian, 303-4. It is, however, impossible to distinguish between the historical and apocryphal accounts of their martyrdoms. Our most trustworthy authority is Bishop Prudentius (born 348)[1] whose book *Peristephanon Liber* consists of fourteen poems written in honour of these martyrs. The best known of them is Bishop Fructuosus of Tarragona,[2] who probably suffered in the persecution of Valerian in 259. A long and detailed account of his sufferings and martyrdom is given in the *Acta S. Fructuosi*.[3] The bishop, who was loved and respected alike by the Christians and the heathen, was brought before the consul Æmilian, together with two priests Augurius and Eulogius, and was charged with refusing to worship the Emperors, and when he and his companions persisted in this refusal they were burnt alive in the amphitheatre. Prudentius states that thirty Spanish martyrs suffered death during the persecution of Diocletian. Of these Zaragoza supplied nineteen, Cordova five, Alcala two, Gerona, Barcelona, Saguntum and Merida each one. In many instances the martyrs courted suffering and did everything in their power to provoke their persecutors to put them to death. Thus we read that Eulalia, a girl of thirteen,

Early Spanish martyrs.

Writings of Prudentius.

Fructuosus.

Thirty martyrs.

[1] Prudentius was a barrister at Rome, and returning to Spain, his native land, he devoted himself to writing religious poetry. See Migne, *P. L.* lxxxvi. col. 1152.

[2] Harnack regards his martyrdom as authentic.

[3] See Ruinart's *Acta primorum Martyrum sincera et selecta*, Amsterdam, 1713, pp. 218-222.

spat in the prætor's eyes[1] and defied him to do his worst.

St. Vincent of Zaragoza.

Vincent of Zaragoza, who was put to death at Saguntum, said to the prætor who was examining him, "The lightning shall burn thy poisonous tongue and thou shalt see the hot cinders of Gomorrah and the ashes of Sodom shall witness thy everlasting burning, thou serpent whom the smoke of sulphur, and bitumen and pitch shall encircle in hell fire."[2] He is the most famous martyr whom Spain has produced, and the story of his martyrdom, interspersed with many miraculous occurrences, has spread far and wide.[3] St. Augustine in one of his sermons, says, "What country, what province, to which the Roman Empire and the Christian name has been extended, does not now rejoice to celebrate the festival of St. Vincent?"[4]

Council of Elvira.

Although little information relating to actual missionary work has been preserved, we possess the records of an early Church Council (*circ.* 306)[5] which throw much light upon the state of the Christian Church at the time when it was held, and which show that the conversion of many of the so-called Christians had been of a very superficial nature. The state of things revealed by the decrees of this Council is the more significant because the Council was held several years before the conversion of Constantine and before the

[1] "in tyranni oculos sputa jacit." Ibid. p. 453. See also Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, Hymn iii.

[2] *Hymnus Prudentii de sancti Vincentii Martyrio.* See also Ruinart, p. 375.

[3] Four French cathedrals are dedicated to his memory.

[4] Sermon 276.

[5] This is the date given by Hefele, Mansi suggests 309 and Harduin 313.

official patronage of Christianity had had time to lower the tone of the Christian Church.

This Council, or rather synod, was held at Elvira[1] or Illiberis, near to the modern Granada, and was attended by nineteen bishops and twenty-six presbyters representing in all thirty-seven different Churches.[2] The names of the Churches show that Christianity was diffused over a large part of Spain.[3] The eighty-one canons passed by the Synod suggest that many Christians, and even bishops and clergy, lived immoral lives and were addicted to pagan practices. Thus we gather from them that some Christians discharged the office of a pagan "flamen" (ii., iv.); Christian mistresses were known to flog their maids to death (v.); reference is made to Christians who were murderers (vi.); to parents who married their daughters to pagan priests (xvii.); to adulterous bishops and clergy (xviii.); and to wives of the clergy who were adulteresses (lxv.). Christians were prohibited from placing lighted candles during the daytime in cemeteries, the prohibition being based on the ground that the spirits of the saints should not be disturbed (xxxiv.).[4] Some Christians altogether neglected church attendance (xlvi.); catechumens for long spaces of time[5] never came near a church (xlv.);

Immorality and paganism amongst Christians.

[1] See *Histoire des Conciles*, Hefele, i. 212-264. Mansi, *Concilia*, ii.

[2] Some of the Spanish churches were governed by presbyters or even by deacons. See Canon 77.

[3] Some dioceses, *e.g.* Tarraco and Asturica, were not represented at all.

[4] The reason given for the prohibition, lest the spirits of the saints should be disturbed ("inquietandi enim sanctorum spiritus non sunt"), implies a belief that the burning of candles facilitated intercourse with the dead. Spain has long been noted for its use of candles in connection with its religious worship. Gams refers to it as the "land of candle-light," vol. ii. p. 91 f.

[5] "per infinita tempora." Hefele, i. p. 247.

others were gamesters (lxxix.), and attended idol sacrifices (lix.).

Two canons are of special interest; one (lx.) which declares that no one is to be accounted a martyr who has destroyed idols and been killed for doing so; another (xxxiii.), which for the first time appears as a canon passed by a council, or synod, forbidding bishops, priests or deacons to live as husbands with their wives.

Celibacy of the clergy.

It would appear that the number of those who were regarded as heretical was very considerable, as one canon (xvi.) condemns intermarriage with heretics. Christians are forbidden to intermarry (xvi.), or even eat (l.), with Jews, or to allow Jews to pronounce a blessing on the fruits given by God (xlix.). Anyone who persists in allowing a Jew to bless his produce is to be cast out of the Church. The penalties attached to the violation of these canons were suspension from Communion. The most severe penalty, viz. that of suspension for life, is pronounced against those who sacrifice to idols, or who give their daughters in marriage to heathen priests, and against adulterous bishops and priests.

References to the Jews.

There is reason to fear that the decrees of this council failed to effect any great or permanent improvement in the Spanish Church. Thus Sulpicius Severus, writing at the end of the fourth century, after referring to the discord caused by the Priscillianists in Spain, says: "That conflict after being sustained for fifteen years with horrible dissension could not by any means be set at rest. . . . Everything was corrupted by them (the bishops) through their hatred, partiality,

Failure of attempts at reform.

fear, faithlessness, envy, factiousness, lust, avarice, pride, sleepiness and inactivity."[1]

Introduction of monasticism.

Monasticism was introduced into Spain about the middle of the fourth century. Priscillian, the author of the famous heresy which bears his name, and which was suppressed with great cruelty in 385, was one of the first men to practise the ascetic life in Spain, but there is no evidence to show that monasteries or nunneries were established until after his time. The Spanish clergy did not in fact take kindly to the monastic asceticism which at that time best expressed the ideals of the most earnest and most self-denying Christians.[2]

Vigilantius denounces monasticism.

Vigilantius, who was serving as a priest at Barcelona in 396, visited Palestine in 405, and after conversing with Jerome and visiting the monasteries that were springing up in Palestine, returned to the west, and started a campaign against the establishment of monasteries, denouncing specially the asceticism and the adoration of relics which they promoted.

Hosius of Cordova.

The outstanding figure in the Spanish Church during the fourth century was Hosius bishop of Cordova.[3] He presided[4] at the Council of Nicæa (325) which, according to Sulpicius, was summoned at his suggestion.[5] He lived to be over a hundred and although in 357 he subscribed an Arian creed at the Synod of Sirmium, he afterwards repudiated his action, and died, as he had lived, a supporter of the Catholic faith.

[1] S. Severus, *Hist.* ii. 51. Sulpicius was perhaps prejudiced by his bitterness against the Priscillianists, but his testimony cannot be neglected.

[2] See Harnack's *Exp. of Christianity*, ii. 306.

[3] Harnack suggests that Hosius may have been an Egyptian resident in Spain. Ibid. 301 n.

[4] Athanasius, *Apologia de fuga* . . . See also Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 13. Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 15.

[5] *Hist.* ii. 55.

By the end of the fourth century the whole, or nearly the whole, of the Spanish Peninsula had become nominally Christian, but of the missionaries to whom this result was due we know nothing. There is, indeed, no other country in Europe which from the point of view of the missionary historian shows so complete a blank. In 409 a swarm of barbarians, Vandals, Suevi and Alani, the first two of Germanic and the last of Scythian origin, burst through the passes of the Pyrenees and speedily overran the whole peninsula. The Vandals occupied Andalusia and Granada; the Suevi Galicia, Leon and Castile; and the Alani Portugal and Estremadura. They were not, however, left long in the enjoyment of their conquests, as in 414 the Goths under Atawulf followed them into Spain, and though, after defeating the Vandals and Alani, they retired for a time to the district of Toulouse, in 466 they completed their conquest of the peninsula. By this time the earlier invaders had embraced Christianity.[1] The Goths were Arian Christians and a large part of the Spanish Christians remained Arians until the Gothic king Recarred, who came to the throne in 586, renounced Arianism and became a Catholic. His definite adhesion to Catholic Christianity was announced at the third Council of Toledo in 589.[2]

Invasion of Vandals and Alani, 409.

Arrival of the Goths, 414.

King Reccared.

[1] The Suevi who apart from the Goths formed the most important section of the Spanish population, were heathen till 438 when they became Arian Christians under their king, Rekiar. In 560 they became Catholics.

[2] This Council is memorable as the Nicene Creed in the form accepted by it contained for the first time the words "and the Son" after the clause "proceeding from the Father." From Spain the clause spread into Gaul and thence into Italy. It was rejected by Pope Leo III, but was eventually accepted by the Pope in 1014. In the ninth century when Pope Leo III was asked to sanction the insertion of these words he had the creed engraved on two shields

That idolatry was still practised in some parts of Spain is shown by the canon passed at this Council directing all priests and territorial judges to take steps to exterminate it. The worship of Mars continued at Betique near Cadiz as late as the time of Macrobius, *i.e.* the beginning of the fifth century,[1] and a temple of Mars and priests attached to it were to be found in the north of the peninsula in the ninth century.[2] St. Pacian, who was bishop of Barcelona towards the end of the fourth century, says that many of the inhabitants of this diocese are given to idolatry.[3]

Destruction of idolatry.

The conversion of the Jews, of whom there were a large number in Spain, was sought to be attained by various forms of compulsion (see chap. xxi.).

A decree passed by the Sixteenth Council of Toledo (693) shows that idolatry was still practised by slaves and freedmen.[4]

Speaking of the two hundred years during which the Goths held dominion in Spain a recent writer says: "The advent of an ignorant but devout race like the Goths might probably arouse a more earnest faith in the new religion amid the worn-out paganism of the kingdom. . . . The result did not in any way justify the anticipation. The Goths remained devout indeed, but they regarded their acts of religion chiefly as reparation for their vices. They compounded for an exceptionally bad sin by an added amount of repent-

The Gothic dominion in Spain.

in Latin and Greek (without these words), and hung them up in his cathedral church to show that they ought not to be accepted. In 867 the Greek Patriarch Photius protested against the Spanish innovation, and his protest has ever since been maintained.

[1] Cf. *Saturnalia*, i. 9.

[2] See Vita S. Leonis in the *Acta SS.* for March, vol. i. p. 95.

[3] See Migne, *P. L.* xiii. col. 1084.

[4] Canon ii. Hefele, iii. p. 583.

ance, and then they sinned again without compunction. They were quite as corrupt and immoral as the Roman nobles who had preceded them." [1]

Invasion by the Moors, 710.

In 710 the first marauding expedition of Saracens, or Moors,[2] crossed into Spain from Africa and on July 19 of the following year, at the battle of Guadelete, the sovereignty of Spain passed from the Goths to the Moslems. Amongst those who sided with the invaders were the Jews, who had suffered so much from the hands of their Christian rulers, and the pagan slaves, who became converts to Islam. The leader of the Moslems was Tarik, whose memory is preserved in the word Gibraltar to which he gave his name.[3] Within three years the whole of Spain had become subject to them with the exception of the small district of Murcia and the mountains of Asturias. The province of Narbonne in France, which was included in the Moslem conquests, was freed from their control as the result of the battle of Tours in 732.

Tarik.

Treatment of the Christians.

To the inhabitants of Spain the Moslems offered the three alternatives of conversion to Islam, tribute, or the sword. Those who accepted the second alternative became known by the term Mozarabs.[4] Although the Christians who were content to pay tribute suffered but little from their conquerors, many Christians embraced Islam and still more lost all zeal

[1] *The Moors in Spain*, Lane Poole, p. 7.

[2] The word Saracens literally means Easterns. The word Moor is properly applicable to the Berbers in N. Africa and Spain, but is frequently used to denote the Arabs and other Moslems in Spain.

[3] Gibraltar = Gebal-tarik, *i.e.* Hill of Tarik.

[4] Mozarab or Mostarab, an Arabic participial form, was generally applied to those who adopted the Arab way of living.

for their own faith and studied Moslem books and poetry.[1]

This was specially the case at Cordova, which was the chief centre of Mohammedan Government and influence. As the Moslems took over from the Goths the right to exercise a veto on the election of bishops, those elected were seldom distinguished for their opposition to Islam.

Martyrs of Cordova, 851.

In 851 thirteen Christians suffered death as martyrs in Cordova, nearly all of whom had provoked the Moslems to attack them by reviling their prophet and their religion. During the next three years about twenty suffered in a similar way. From the eleventh century to the fifteenth the history of Spain consists largely of wars waged not only between Christians and Moslems but between co-religionists on either side. The Christians tended to become stronger in the north, especially in Castile, Galicia, Navarre, Aragon and Portugal, but their internal dissensions prevented them from combining to drive out the Moslems from their country. "Unchecked by the church, the nation, from the highest to the lowest, became demoralized and substituted superstition, bigotry and outward acts of devotion for faith, charity and spiritual religion, accepting at the best military honour, at the worst sheer brutality and barbarism in the place of Christian morality."[2] The dissensions amongst

Civil wars.

[1] Alvar writes, "Who is there among our faithful laity who reads the Holy Scriptures or takes a look at the works of any doctors that are written in Latin? . . . Are not all our young Christians . . . skilled in heathen learning . . . eagerly turning over the pages of the Chaldeans, earnestly reading them?" *Indiculus Luminosus*, c. 35.

[2] *The Church in Spain*, by F. Meyrick, 1892, p. 354. See also *History of Spain and Portugal*, by Dunham, iii. 37, 143, etc.

the Moslems were even more bitter and suicidal than those among the Christians, and the influence of the latter was gradually extended towards the south. Between 1238 and 1260 Fernando III of Castile and Jayme I of Aragon conquered Valencia, Cordova, Seville and Murcia and the rule of the Moslems became limited to the present province of Granada in the extreme south. Here however they maintained their power for two and a half centuries more, though for the greater part of the time they paid tribute to the Christian kings.

Conquests by the Christians.

After fighting had been carried on with little intermission for ten years and the province of Granada had been gradually wrested from the Moslems, the capitulation of the town of Granada was signed on Nov. 25, 1491. By the terms of its capitulation freedom of worship was guaranteed to the Moslems and the first Christian archbishop Hernando de Talavera, whilst respecting the terms granted to them, sought to promote their conversion to Christianity by sympathy and persuasion. With this end in view he ordered his clergy to learn Arabic and he himself said his prayers in this language. So successful were his efforts that in 1499 three thousand Moslems were baptized in a single day. Had this unique missionary experiment been permitted to continue unchecked it is hard to say how great might have been its results. Unhappily, however, the policy of the archbishop failed to meet with the approval of his superiors. Cardinal Ximenes, who visited Granada at this time, disapproved of employing gentler means for the prosecution of missionary work when force was available,

Capitulation of Granada, 1491.

Baptism of 3000 Moslems.

Persecution of the Moslems.

and persuaded the queen to issue a decree offering the Moslems the choice of baptism or exile. To hasten their conversion still further he closed their mosques and burnt countless manuscripts which contained the results of Moslem study and learning.

Nominal conversions to Christianity.

As a result of the pressure exerted upon the Moslems a large number became nominal Christians, but their compulsory conversion caused them to hate everything connected with the Christian religion. They would wash off the water with which their children had been baptized and after a Christian wedding they returned to their homes to be married again with Moslem rites. In 1567 Philip II endeavoured to compel them to speak the Spanish language, to re-name themselves by Spanish names and to adopt Spanish dress. Soon afterwards a rebellion broke out which lasted for two years, and was repressed with barbarous cruelty. In 1570, when the Moslems were finally subdued, the survivors were either sold as slaves or exiled, the deportation of the last remnant taking place in 1610. To quote again the words of Lane Poole: "The (Spanish) Grand Commander Requesens by an organized system of wholesale butchery and devastation, by burning down villages, and smoking the people to death in the caves where they had sought refuge, extinguished the last spark of open revolt before November 5, 1570. The Moriscos were at last subdued at the cost of the honour, and with the loss of the future, of Christian Spain. . . . The Moors were banished; for a while Christian Spain shone, like the moon, with a borrowed light; then came

Final subjugation of the Moslems, 1570.

the eclipse, and in that darkness Spain has grovelled ever since." [1]

A suggestive legend.

As we study the religious and political history of Spain we are constrained to recognize the large measure of truth contained in the old Spanish legend, according to which, on the occasion of the creation of the world, Spain asked and obtained four boons from its Creator—a lovely climate, a beautiful sea, a fertile land, and beautiful women. A fifth request, viz. that she might obtain a good government, was refused by the Creator, who said that if it were granted Spain would become a terrestrial paradise. "It was not only a good government," writes a modern historian, "that was refused, but men capable of being governed." [2]

Before we pass from the story of the spread of Christianity in Spain a brief reference should be made to two Spaniards who exerted a considerable influence upon the development of the Christian Church in the West,—Pope Damasus and the Emperor Theodosius I. After a fierce strife and the massacre of a large number of his opponents, Damasus was elected Pope in 366. His term of office was characterized by a great increase in monasticism which he did much to promote, and by the production of the Latin Bible translated by Jerome, which became the recognized Bible of the Western Church.

Pope Damasus.

Theodosius I.

Theodosius I was born at Cauca in Spain in 346, and in 379 was appointed co-emperor with Gratian. In the following year he was baptized by Bishop Ascolius at Thessalonica. The severity with which

[1] *The Moors in Spain*, pp. 278, 280.

[2] *L'Espagne chrétienne*, Leclercq, p. xxiii. f.

he persecuted all Christians whom he learned to regard as unorthodox was characteristically Spanish. The massacre of the inhabitants of Thessalonica which he authorized brought upon him the well-known rebuke of Ambrose. He died in 395.

CHAPTER X

AUSTRIA

During the early centuries of the Christian era, the greater part of Austria and a portion of Hungary were included in the provinces of Pannonia and Noricum.

Pannonia

Limits of Pannonia.

The name Pannonia was applied to the country bounded on the north and east by the Danube, from a point 10 miles north of Vienna to Belgrade in Mœsia, being coterminous on the west with Noricum and Italy, and on the south with Dalmatia and Mœsia Superior. It included the south-west of Hungary with parts of Lower Austria, Styria, Carniola, Croatia, and Slavonia.

Bishop Domnus, 325.

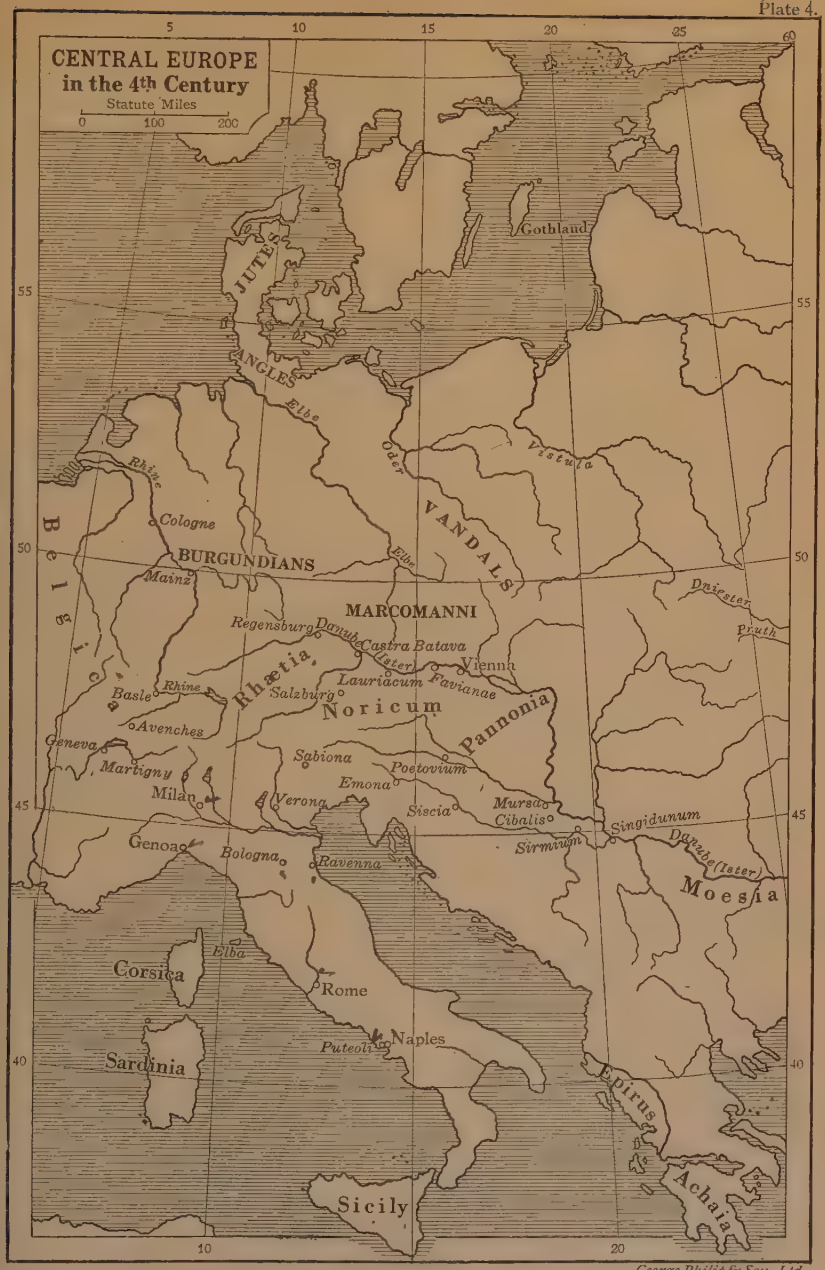
A Pannonian bishop named Domnus, the site of whose see is unknown, was present at the Council of Nicæa (325), and at the dedication of the Christian church in Jerusalem (335) Eusebius says that the Mœsians and Pannonians were represented by "the fairest bloom of God's youthful stock among them." [1]

Other bishops in Pannonia.

References occur to the existence of Christian communities at Sirmium, Cibalis, Siscia, Singidunum (on the border of Dacia), Scarabantia and Sabaria.[2]

[1] τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνθοῦντα κάλλη τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ νεολαίας. *Vita Constantini*, iv. 43.

[2] See Ruinart, *Mart. Syn.* pp. 432, 433, 521, 435, 523.



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As early as 304 it could be said that "very many years" had elapsed since a bishop named Eusebius had suffered martyrdom at Cibalis. Valens was bishop at Mursa before the Council of Nicæa, and Victorinus, who was a famous writer and versed in Greek Christian literature, was bishop of Poetovium (Pettau) about 300.

Noricum

Limits of Noricum.

The province of Noricum, which lay between Rhætia and Pannonia, included roughly speaking the territory lying between long. 48° 30′ and 46° 30′ N. and lat. 12° and 15° 30′ E. This territory is now included in S.E. Bavaria, the N.E. portion of Upper Austria, and the E. portion of the Austrian Tyrol. By the beginning of the fourth century the province had become completely Romanized. Although definite records are lacking, it is probable that Christianity had been preached in Noricum before the beginning of the fourth century.

St. Florian, 304.

St. Florian was martyred by being drowned in the R. Enns at Lauriacum (Lorch) in 304, and a saint called Maximilian who lived in the third century was honoured at Salzburg.[1]

Bishops at Sardica, 343.

Athanasius[2] refers to bishops of Noricum who attended the Council of Sardica *circ.* 343, without, however, giving their names. There may also have been a bishopric at Teurnia (Tiburnia)[3] before 325.

It would appear that Christianity gained general acceptance throughout Noricum by the end of the

[1] See Hauck's *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 347, 359.

[2] *Apol. c. Arian.*; *Hist. ad Monach.* 28. See Harnack, *Exp. of C.* ii. 238, and Hauck's *K. D.* i. 360.

[3] See Harnack, *Exp. of C.* ii. 238.

Destruction of Christian churches.

fourth century and continued as the dominant faith till the incursions of the barbarians at the close of the fifth century, after which there remained only relics of Christian communities.

Before this catastrophe occurred churches had been established at Juvavum (Salzburg), Joviacum, Asturis, Commagena, Castellum Cucullæ (Kuchel on the Salzach), Batava (Passau), Boiodurum (Innstadt), Quintana (Plattling) and several other places.

Barbarian invaders.

Whilst the Alemanni and Heruli invaded the Roman frontier on the north and west, the Goths threatened it on the east. The troops on the Danube who were left without pay were unable to offer an effective resistance, and, as the barbarians swarmed across the frontiers, the Latin-speaking population deserted their cities and with their priests and sacred vessels sought a refuge in Italy.

Severinus.

Before this happened and while the country was in a state of uncertainty and misery there appeared amongst its inhabitants a remarkable missionary whose biography, written by a contemporary, has fortunately been preserved.[1]

His early life a mystery.

The uncertainty which existed in regard to his nationality and the country in which his youth had been spent added to the romance connected with his work. When on one occasion a priest named Primenius ventured to say to him, "Reverend Master, from what province hath the great light come which God hath seen fit to bestow upon these lands?" he replied jestingly, "If

[1] Eugippius, the biographer and companion of Severinus, was born at Carthage *circ.* 450 and ordained at Rome. He subsequently became an inmate of the monastery at Faviana. He wrote the Life about 511. Severinus died 482. See also the Life of S. in the *Acta SS.* for Jan. 8.

you suppose me to be a fugitive slave, have the ransom in readiness to pay for me, if I am claimed," but, he added in a more serious vein, "What profiteth it the servant of God to name his country or race, when by keeping silence concerning them he can more easily avoid vainglory? For vainglory is like the left hand, without whose knowledge I desire through the gift of Christ to accomplish a good work, that so I may deserve to be among those on Christ's right hand, and to be enrolled as a citizen of the celestial country. If thou knowest that I, though unworthy, truly desire that celestial country, what need that thou learn the earthly country of which thou askest? But know that the God who appointed thee to the priesthood commanded me also to dwell amongst these who are threatened with many dangers." [1]

In the same letter from which the reference to this incident occurs and which was addressed by his biographer, Eugippius, to Paschasius, commending to him the Life which he had compiled, he says, "His speech revealed a man of purest Latin stock and it is understood that he first departed into some desert place of the East because of his fervid desire for a more perfect life, and that thence, constrained by divine revelation, he later came to the towns of Riverside Noricum near Upper Panonia, which were harassed by frequent incursions of the Barbarians. So he himself was wont to hint in obscure language as if speaking of another, naming some cities of the East and indicating that he had passed by miracle through the dangers of an immense journey." [2]

[1] *Ep. ad Paschasium*, 4.

[2] *Ep. ad Pasch.* 4.

He first appeared at Asturis, a small town a little above Vienna, and, on its destruction by the barbarians, he moved to Commagena, where his presence served to bring hope to the inhabitants who were expecting to be attacked. The next place which he visited was Favianæ,[1] at which the incidents related by his biographer are typical of many others which are recorded. The barbarians having plundered its neighbourhood and having led away captive all the men and cattle outside its walls, the terror-stricken citizens presented themselves before him with tears and entreaties for help. When Severinus asked the Roman tribune Mamertinus, who was in command in the district, if he could pursue the robbers, he replied, "I have soldiers a very few, but I dare not contend with so great a host of enemies. However, if thou commandest it, venerable (father), though we lack the aid of weapons yet we believe that through thy prayers we shall be victorious."[2] Severinus bade him advance, confident that God would aid him, only charging him to bring back to him unharmed all whom he should capture. The attack proved successful and Severinus, having ordered the barbarian captives to be fed, sent them back to their own people in peace. It is interesting to note that this Roman tribune eventually became a Christian bishop. In the neighbourhood of Favianæ Severinus built a monastery, where "he began to instruct great numbers in the sacred way of life, training the souls of hearers rather by deeds than by words." Referring to his habits of abstinence and self-denial, his

He succours the people of Favianæ.

[1] Near the present town of Mautern on the Danube. For its site see Eugippius' *Life of S. Severinus* by G. Robinson, p. 36 n.

[2] *Vita*, c. ii. 10.

biographer writes, "He subdued his flesh by innumerable fasts . . . he wore no shoes whatever. At midwinter, which in those regions is a time of cruel, numbing cold, he gave a remarkable proof of endurance by being always willing to walk barefoot." [1] His asceticism.

"He never broke his fast before sunset except on an appointed festival. In Lent he was satisfied with one meal a week, yet his countenance shone with the same cheerfulness. He wept over the faults of others as if they were his own, and helped to overcome them by such aid as he could give." [2]

Arian and orthodox Christians.

One of the tribes represented in Noricum was the Rugii, whose king Flaccitheus had apparently been converted by Arian missionaries. It is probable that a considerable number of his subjects were also Arian Christians. How bitter were the feelings that existed between the Arian and the orthodox Christians may be gathered from the remark of Eugippius concerning Gisa, the wife of King Feva (Feletheus): "Among the other pollutions of her iniquity she even attempted to rebaptize certain catholics." [3] When, on one occasion, it was suggested to Severinus that he should accept the office of a bishop he refused, saying that "it was enough for him that, withdrawn from his beloved solitude, he had come by divine direction to that province to live among the pressing, crowding throngs." [4] By means of the influence which he obtained with Gibuldus the king of the Alemanni he restrained him on several occasions from the depredations that he had planned and induced him to set free captives whom he had taken.

Severinus refuses to be made a bishop.

[1] *Vita*, c. iv. [2] *Vita*, x. 47. [3] *Vita*, c. iii. 15. [4] *Vita*, c. iii. 17.

When, "after many struggles and long contests," he perceived that he was about to pass from this world, he summoned Feva, the king of the Rugii and his wife and urged them, as one "about to stand in the presence of God," to "refrain from unjust deeds and apply" themselves "to works of piety," and he foretold that all the peoples of Noricum would migrate in safety to the Roman province. His biographer states that he had foretold the day of his death two years before its occurrence.

His dying words.

In the course of an address delivered to the monks and others who were gathered round his death-bed he said: "Let us be humble in heart, tranquil in mind . . . knowing that meanness of garb, the name monk, the word religion, the outward form of piety, profiteth us not, if touching the observance of God's commands we be found degenerate and false."[1] He bade all approach in succession to receive a kiss, and having received the holy sacrament he commanded that they should sing a psalm. When grief kept them silent, he himself started the verse, "Praise ye the Lord in his sanctuary, let everything that hath breath praise the Lord," and as he was repeating the words, "he fell asleep in the Lord." He died on January 8, 482.

Contents of his message.

The task to which Severinus was called resembled, apart from its purely missionary aspect, that of Jeremiah, inasmuch as a chief part of his message consisted of a summons to repent and to give way to the invaders of the country against whom no effective or permanent resistance could be made. By the austere holiness of his life and that of his disciples he commanded

[1] *Vita*, c. xi. 52.

the respect of the lawless chiefs, and, whilst he relieved the material wants of those who had lost all that they possessed amidst the ravages and desolations of this unhappy time, he was the means of converting and adding to the Christian Church many from the ranks alike of the persecuted and the persecutors.

The miracles attributed to him.

It is interesting to note that although his life was written by a contemporary, it contains, as does that of St. Martin, long and detailed accounts of miracles which were attributed to him. In his case a large proportion of the miraculous gifts with which he is credited were displayed in foretelling events, or in describing events that were occurring at a distance at the time when he was speaking. If we suppose that he was gifted with a kind of second sight, such as that which a limited number of persons have been proved to possess within more recent times, many of these miraculous occurrences would receive an explanation which, without impugning the veracity of his biographer, would enable us to regard them as consistent with the normal methods of God's dealings with men. It is certainly the case that several of the incidents attributed to Severinus, and regarded by his biographer as miraculous, can be paralleled by exactly similar incidents which have been attributed to persons possessed of what is popularly called second sight, and which have been indisputably authenticated within recent times. The same explanation may be offered of several incidents attributed by Adamnan to Columba.

Moravia

Limits of Moravia.

The kingdom of Moravia in the early part of the ninth century, the time when Christianity first spread throughout the country, extended from the frontier of Bavaria to the river Drina and from the Danube to the river Styri in southern Poland. The Slavonic race that inhabited it had been subjected by Charlemagne, and some unsuccessful efforts had been made to introduce Christianity under the direction of Arno, archbishop of Salzburg. A church was consecrated by Arno at Neutra in 836. It would appear that the priests who endeavoured to win the people to a profession of Christianity were unacquainted with the Slavonic tongue, and, as a natural consequence, the services which were said in Latin failed to appeal to those whom they desired to influence.

Work of Archbp. Arno, 836.

King Rostislav asks for teachers.

In 863 the Moravian king Rostislav, or Radislav, who was anxious to recover his independence and desired to ally himself with the Greek Empire, asked the Emperor Michael to send Christian teachers to instruct his people. His words, as recorded by the Russian chronicler,[1] imply that by this date a large proportion of the people had been baptized. The message to the Greek Emperor runs: "Our land is baptized and we have no teacher to preach to us, to instruct us and to explain to us the Holy Scriptures. We do not understand either the Greek or Latin tongue: some teach us in one way, some in another: we do not understand the meaning of the sacred Scriptures nor their import. Send us teachers who may be able to explain to us the

[1] See *Chronique de Nestor*, pp. 19-21.

letter and the spirit of the sacred Scriptures." On receipt of this message the Emperor called together his wise men and repeated to them the message of the Slav princes,[1] whereupon one of them said: "There is a man at Thessalonica called Leon, who has sons well acquainted with the Slavonic language and versed in science and philosophy." The Emperor on hearing this sent to Leon and ordered him to send him his two sons, Methodius[2] and Constantine (Cyril),[3] and, after interviewing them, he sent them to the Slavonic princes. The chronicler continues: "After their arrival they formed the letters of the Slavonic alphabet and translated the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospels. The Slavs rejoiced to hear of the greatness of God in their own language. . . . Then certain persons began to find fault with the books written in Slavonic and to say, 'No people ought to have its own alphabet except it be Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, as is shown by the inscription which Pilate wrote upon the cross of the Saviour.' The Pope of Rome when he heard this, blamed those who murmured against the Slavonic books and said, 'Let the words of Holy Scripture be accomplished, and let all tongues praise God.'" He added words which contrast with those used by his

Methodius and Cyril.

The use of the Slavonic language.

[1] This message was sent in the names of Rostislav, Swatopolk and Kotsel.

[2] This Methodius is probably not to be identified with the Methodius, a painter and monk, who is said to have converted Boris, king of Bulgaria, by painting a representation of the final judgment.

[3] The name Cyril was adopted by Constantine at Rome shortly before his death. Prior to his missionary activities he had held high official rank in the Government of Macedonia. Before his visit to Moravia he worked as a missionary amongst the Khazars. At the age of seven he dreamed that his father desired him to marry the fairest maiden in Constantinople and that the object of his choice was Wisdom (*σοφία*).

successors to others who have from time to time desired to have the Bible and the liturgy in their own tongue, "If anyone finds fault with the Slavonic writing let him be cut off from the Church till he be corrected, for such men are wolves and not sheep."

Apart from this account supplied by the Russian chronicler, which dates from the beginning of the twelfth century, we have a life of Cyril contained in the *Acta Sanctorum*,[1] the origin of which is of an earlier date. According to this Cyril learnt Slavonic after, and not before, his first visit to Moravia. This latter statement, if we may assume its accuracy, reflects the greater credit upon his missionary zeal.

The narrative supplied by the Russian chronicler continues: "Constantine (Cyril) then returned and went to instruct the Bulgarian nation, and Methodius remained in Moravia. Then the prince Kotsel established Methodius as bishop in Pannonia, the seat of St. Andronicus, who was one of the seventy disciples of the Apostle Paul. Methodius appointed two skilful writers who translated all the Holy Scriptures from Greek into Slavonic in the space of six months. . . . The Apostle Andronicus is the founder of the Slav nation, and he came to Moravia." The chronicler goes on to claim St. Paul as the founder of the Slav people on the ground that he preached in Illyria, which was partly inhabited by Slavs.[2]

A Slavonic Bible.

The work of Methodius and Cyril continued without interruption for four and a half years, at the end of which the political relations between Moravia and Constantinople altered and the Moravian princes estab-

[1] *Acta Sanctorum*, March 9. [2] Id. p. 21.

lished closer connections with the Western Empire, one result of which was to bring the Christians in Moravia into touch with Rome. In 868 Pope Nicolas summoned Methodius and Cyril to Rome, whither they took what was alleged to be the body of St. Clement of Rome, which Cyril claimed to have found on the shores of the Chersonese.[1] Adrian, who had become Pope by the time of their arrival, declared himself satisfied with their orthodoxy and appointed Methodius as Metropolitan of Moravia and Pannonia. Cyril remained behind in Rome. On the dethronement of Rostislav Methodius took refuge in Pannonia, where however his use of the Slavonic Bible and liturgy aroused the dislike of the German priests, who objected to the use of any language other than Latin in the Church services. Complaints having reached Rome, Pope John VIII wrote forbidding Methodius to celebrate mass in Slavonic and summoning him to defend himself against the charges that had been made.[2] In 879 he arrived once more in Rome. Here, as has already been mentioned, he succeeded in obtaining the consent of the Pope to the continued use of the Slavonic language. The Pope's letter, subsequently addressed to the Moravian prince, is of historic interest from a missionary standpoint. In it he wrote: "The alphabet invented by a certain philosopher Constantine (Cyril), to the end that God's praise may duly sound forth

Methodius and Cyril at Rome.

The Pope authorizes the celebration of mass in Slavonic.

[1] According to the story told in the *Clementine Epitome*, Clement was banished to Cherson by Trajan, and in consequence of his success as a missionary was thrown into the sea by the heathen with an anchor round his neck. This legend explains why St. Clement became the patron saint of the seafaring populations of Denmark and Norway. See p. 499.

[2] *Epistolæ Joannis Papæ*, viii. ccxxxix. Migne, *P. L.* cxxvi.

thereby, we rightly commend, and we order that in this language the messages (*præconia*) and works of Christ our God be declared: for we are exhorted on the authority of Holy Scripture to praise the Lord, not in three languages alone, but in all tongues. . . . It stands not at all in contradiction with the faith to celebrate the mass in this Slavonic language,[1] or to read the holy Gospel or lessons from the Old and New Testament, properly translated and interpreted, or to rehearse any of the church hymns in the same, for the God who is the author of the three principal languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, created the others also for His own praise and glory. We command, however, that in all the churches of your land, for the greater honour of the Gospel, it should in the first place be read in Latin, and then translated into the Slavonian language for those who do not understand Latin, as in certain churches appears to be done." [2]

A Moravian archbishopric.

Before his return the Pope confirmed Methodius as an independent archbishop of the Moravian Church and consecrated Wichin, a man of German origin, to be bishop of Neutra under his jurisdiction. This latter bishop was opposed to Methodius and desired to break off all connection with the Greek Church and to follow the usages of the Roman Church. Methodius visited Rome again in 881, and it is uncertain whether he returned again to Moravia.[3]

[1] "Nec sanæ fidei vel doctrinæ aliquid obstat missam in eadem Slavonica lingua canere."

[2] Letter to Svantopulcus, King of Moravia. Migne, cxxvi., col. 904 f. See also Baronii, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, anno. 880, p. 341. The letter is also given in the *Acta Sanctorum* for March 9.

[3] According to the biography of Clement, archbishop of Bulgaria, Methodius continued as archbishop in Moravia for twenty-four years, and it was not till after his death

The German bishops continued their opposition to the establishment of an independent Moravian archbishopric until the kingdom of Moravia was itself dissolved. In 907 it was invaded by pagan Magyars, or Hungarians, and when after a war lasting for thirty years peace was at last restored, it was united to the kingdom of Bohemia. The use of the Slavonic language soon after this practically ceased.

Pagan invaders, 907.

Bohemia

The first trace of the introduction of Christianity into Bohemia[1] appears to be the record of the baptism of fourteen Bohemian chiefs at Ratisbon on January 1, 845.[2] "It is very probable that these nobles had been obliged to fly from Bohemia in consequence of one of the many feuds that then desolated the country and that they hoped by accepting the Christian faith to secure German aid against their internal enemies."[3] The story told of the conversion of the Bohemian Duke Borzivoi is characteristic of the time to which it is assigned, and probably contains an element of truth. On the occasion of his visit to the Moravian Prince Swatopluk in 871, when dinner was served, he and his attendants were assigned a place on the floor as being

Baptism of Bohemian chiefs, 845.

Conversion of Borzivoi, 871.

that his opponents gained control over the Moravian Church.

[1] The name Bohemia is derived from the Celtic tribe of the Boii, who occupied that territory at the beginning of the Christian era. Boiohemum, *i.e.* the country of the Boii, was modified to Bohemia. It was afterwards occupied by the Teutonic Marcomanni, who abandoned it in the fifth century, when it was occupied by the Slavonians.

[2] The entry in the *Fuldenses Annales* (Pertz, i. 364) reads: "Hludovicus quatuordecem ex ducibus Boemanorum cum hominibus suis Christianam religionem desiderantes suscepit, et in octavis Theophaniæ baptizari jussit."

[3] *Bohemia*, an historical sketch, by Count Lützow, p. 13.

heathen, whilst Swatopluk and Bishop Methodius sat at the high table. In reply to a question addressed to him by Methodius, he said, "What may I hope to gain by becoming a Christian?" Methodius replied, "A place higher than all kings and princes." He was soon afterwards baptized, together with thirty of his attendants, and his conversion was followed by that of his wife, Ludmilla, and his two sons.

The opposition of his subjects to the introduction of the new faith was, however, so strong that it made but slow progress in Bohemia.[1] His son, Wratislav, who died in 925, left two sons, Wenzeslav, known to singers of Christmas carols as "Good King Wenceslas," and a younger son, Boleslav. Dragomira, who became the ruler of Bohemia, was the leader of the pagan party, and she drove away the Christian missionaries and destroyed the churches. The education of the two brothers was for a time entrusted to their grandmother Ludmilla, but ere long she was assassinated by order of Dragomira. When Wenzeslav came to the throne he became an ardent champion of Christianity and endeavoured to reform the morals of his subjects besides building a number of churches and monasteries.[2]

"Good King Wenceslas."

In 938[3] Wenzeslav resolved to abdicate his throne and to become a monk, but before he could accomplish his purpose he was murdered by his brother Boleslav. On the accession of Boleslav a reaction occurred and

[1] According to Cosmas, Borzivoi eventually abandoned his throne and lived and died disguised as a hermit. *Chronica Slavorum*, i. 14. *Cf.* similar tradition in regard to Swatopluk, king of Moravia.

[2] See Life of Wenzeslav by the monk Christian in Balbini, *Epitome Hist. Rerum Bohemicarum*, pp. 54 ff.

[3] According to Cosmas, 929.

the Christian missionaries were again expelled and the churches and monasteries destroyed; but in 950, having been defeated in battle by Otto I, he was compelled to grant religious liberty to his subjects and to allow the Christian missionaries to return. Before the end of his reign he himself made a profession of Christianity. His son, Boleslav II, who succeeded him in 967, helped to spread the influence of the Christian Church throughout his dominions, and in 973 he established the bishopric of Prague. Thietmar, a Saxon, who was appointed as the first bishop,[1] although meeting with considerable opposition, succeeded in erecting many churches and monasteries. He was followed in 982 by Adalbert[2] who belonged to a noble family and had been educated at Magdeburg. With more energy than discretion he sought to compel the people to accept Christianity, and strove to suppress polygamy, the concubinage practised by the clergy and the traffic in Christian slaves by the Jews. It would appear from the statement of his biographer that whilst the majority of the Bohemians professed Christianity their profession did not affect their lives.[3]

Thietmar, Bp. of Prague, 973.

Bishop Adalbert, 982.

His attempts to abolish the Slavonic liturgy and to uphold Roman usages increased his unpopularity and he eventually gave up his work in despair in 989 and, after visiting Rome, retired to a monastery, where he remained for five years. On the invitation of a synod, which

[1] Cosmas describes him as "vir quidam de Saxonia miræ eloquentiæ et literalis scientiæ . . . qui Sclavonicam perfecte linguam sciebat." *Chron. Slav.* i. 23. The new diocese of Prague included parts of Bohemia, Silesia, Lusatia, and Moravia.

[2] His Bohemian name was Vojtech. He was born about 956.

[3] See *Acta Sanctorum*, April 23, p. 178. "Plerique vero nomine tenus Christiani ritu gentilium vivunt, quibus causa periculi fit res salutis."

was held in Rome in 994, he returned to his work in Bohemia, but meeting with further opposition he went to Hungary, where his labours met with considerable success and where he baptized Vayik, the son of the Duke Geyza, who was afterwards known as St. Stephen. His stay in Hungary was, however, short and he returned again to Rome in 995. At the urgent request of Pope Gregory V he started to return to Prague in 996, but, on hearing of the persecution of the Christians at Prague, he turned aside and went to visit Boleslav, the King of Poland. Two years later he visited Prussia, where he met with a martyr's death in 997.[1]

Baptism of Vayik (Stephen) in Hungary.

Martyrdom of Adalbert, 997.

In 1038 Severus became archbishop of Prague.[2] Inspired, as he declared, by a vision of the martyred Adalbert, he succeeded in enforcing respect for Christian marriage and the observance of Christian customs. In his time the use of the Slavonic liturgy was almost completely suppressed. At the Council of Salona, held in 1060, the use of the Slavonic liturgy was formally prohibited and Gregory VII repeated this prohibition.[3] Two hundred years later, in 1248, a bishop of Senia, finding that the Slavonic liturgy was still in use, referred the matter to Pope Innocent IV and received permission to continue its use in his diocese.[4]

The Slavonic liturgy.

It is of interest to note that the copy of the Gospels upon which the kings of France formerly took their oath in the Cathedral of Rheims was in the Slavonic

[1] See below, p. 426.

[2] See *Chronicle of Cosmas*, bk. ii.

[3] See Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, iv. 1363.

[4] "To-day the Slavonic language for the Roman rite printed in Glagolitic characters is used in the Slavic churches of the dioceses of Zengg, Veglia, Zara, and Spalato." *Catholic Encyclop.* vol. vi. 576.

language, written partly in the Cyrillic and partly in the Glagolitic characters.[1]

Hungary [2]

In the early centuries of the Christian era the south-west portion of Hungary constituted part of the province of Pannonia which was subjugated by Tiberius, whilst the south-east portion formed part of the province of Dacia [3] which was incorporated into the Roman Empire by Trajan. The province of Dacia also included the greater part of modern Servia. We have already referred to the traces of Christianity in Pannonia before the Council of Nicæa.

The Huns.

In 376 the Huns crossed the Don and established themselves (about 380) in Pannonia, where, under Attila, their power so far increased that by 432 the authority of the Romans had ceased to exist. After the death of Attila (453) the greater part of the country became subject to the Ostrogoths and Gepidæ. Between 526 and 548 the Longobardi conquered the whole of Pannonia, and when these migrated to Italy in 568, the Huns (Avars) invaded the country. Between 791 and 796 Charlemagne fought a series of wars with the Huns, one of his alleged objects being to convert them to the Christian faith. The Christianity which was then introduced left little permanent trace, as the removal of military pressure was followed by an immediate re-

Wars with Charlemagne.

[1] For the history of this copy of the Slavonic Gospels see Krasinki's *Lectures on the Religious History of the Slavonic Nations*, p. 40.

[2] Under this section is included the province of Transylvania which was conquered by the Hungarian prince, Stephen I, in 1004, and has with a few interruptions been connected with Hungary ever since.

[3] Dacia also included the modern Rumania.

Baptism of Tudun, 796.

action against the foreign faith. One of the first of the Huns to accept Christianity was a prince named Tudun, who came to the Emperor with a numerous train of followers in 796 and received baptism. Arno, bishop of Salzburg, was then entrusted by Charlemagne with the task of commending the faith to the Huns whom he had conquered. Letters are extant written by Alcuin of York to Charlemagne and to Arno, in which he urges that the use of force should be discarded and that gentler means of conversion should be employed. In writing to Arno, who had asked his advice in view of his proposed missionary labours amongst the Huns, he urged the need of adapting Christian teaching and discipline to the special needs of individuals and races.[1] He further insisted that the mere act of baptism could not profit unless accompanied by faith,[2] and reminded him that the repeated lapses of the Saxons[3] were to be accounted for by their failure to accept the faith from the heart. He urged that inasmuch as man is endowed with understanding he cannot be compelled to believe, but must be instructed and led by preaching to an acknowledgment of the truth. Special prayer should be offered on behalf of missionary work, for "of what use is the tongue of a teacher if divine grace has not penetrated the heart of the hearer, . . . for that which a priest does visibly in the body by means of water, this the Holy Spirit does invisibly in the soul by means of faith."[4] In his letters to the Emperor after

Alcuin deprecates forcible conversions,

[1] *Ep.* xxxvi. Migne, *P. L.* c. col. 192.

[2] "Absque fide quid proficit baptisma? . . . impelli potest homo ad baptismum sed non ad fidem." Ibid.

[3] "Idcirco misera Saxorum gens toties baptismi perdidit sacramentum quia nunquam fidei fundamentum habuit in corde." Ibid. col. 194.

[4] *Ep.* xxxvi.

the subjugation of the Huns, Alcuin says, "Now let your most wise and God-pleasing piety provide for the new people pious preachers of honest life, learned in the knowledge of the holy faith, imbued with evangelical precepts, intent also in their preaching of the word of God on the example of the holy Apostles, who were wont to minister milk—that is, gentle precepts, to their hearers who were beginners in the faith."[1] In the same letter he strongly advises the Emperor not to impose the payment of tithes upon the Huns and to abstain from having adults among them baptized until they have been carefully taught, "lest the washing by holy baptism of the body profit nothing." In support of his argument he quotes statements by Jerome[2] and by Augustine.[3]

and the imposition of tithes.

In 884 the Magyars, who were descendants of the ancient Scythians, appeared in Europe. In 889 they crossed the Carpathians and by 895 they had overrun the whole of Hungary and Transylvania. To-day they form rather less than half the population of Hungary.

The Magyars overrun Hungary, 889.

During the first half of the tenth century the Magyars invaded Saxony, Thuringia, Bavaria and north Italy. They were checked by the German king Henry the Fowler near Merseburg in 933 and suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Otto near Augsburg in 955, when nearly their whole army, numbering 40,000, was annihilated. In 970 they suffered a final defeat near Arcadiopolis, after which they settled down to a life of peace.

[1] *Ep.* xxxiii. Migne, *P. L.* c. col. 187.

[2] "Non potest fieri ut corpus baptismi capiat sacramentum nisi ante anima fidei susceperit veritatem." *Comm. on St. Matt.* xxviii. 19.

[3] *De catechizandis rudibus*, cap. xvii.

Little is known of the subsequent preaching of Christianity in Hungary. Numerous Christian captives had been brought to Hungary as a result of the long protracted wars and it was probably from these that the Magyars gained their first knowledge of the Christian faith.

First Magyar Christians.

Baptism of Bulosudes and Gylas, 949.

The first Christians of whom any satisfactory record exists were the two Hungarian princes Bulosudes and Gylas from Transylvania who visited Constantinople in 949 on a political errand and were there baptized as Christians. Bulosudes, on his return to his own country, relapsed into heathenism and persecuted his Christian subjects, but Gylas (who succeeded him as ruler of Transylvania) brought back with him a monk named Hierotheos as a missionary bishop, and continued to profess his new faith, though he does not appear to have made any serious effort to convert his subjects.[1] Duke Geyza (or Geisa), who became the ruler of Hungary in 972 and reigned till 997, had been baptized, and married Sarolta, the Christian daughter of Gylas of Transylvania.

Letter of Bp. Pilgrim, 971.

About the year 971 Pilgrim the bishop of Passau (971-991) visited Hungary, and in 974 he wrote a letter to Pope Benedict VI giving an account of the welcome which he had received and of the spread of the Christian faith.

Neander suggests that his report to the Pope was much more optimistic than the facts warranted and that he was anxious to impress upon him that the time had come to make the see of Lorch independent of the archiepiscopal see of Salzburg.[2] His report, however,

[1] See Cedreni, *Annales*, f. 524.

[2] *History of the Christian Religion and Church*, vi. 82.

even if unduly optimistic, is of considerable historical value. After referring to the terror which the Hungarians had previously inspired and which had prevented missionary work being done amongst them, he speaks of the great change that had occurred and of the welcome which he and the missionaries whom he had been able to send had received. So great had been their success that "about five thousand of the Hungarians of noble birth of either sex had been imbued with the catholic faith and washed with the sacred ablution." Christians also, he goes on to say, "who had been brought thither as captives from every part of the world and who had not before been permitted to consecrate their offspring to God (in baptism) except in secret, now bring them without fear to be baptized, and all congratulate them as though they had been brought back, after a long wandering, to their own country, because they dare to build places of prayer in Christian fashion. . . . So great is the concord which exists between pagans and Christians and so great is their mutual familiarity that the prophecy of Isaiah appears to be fulfilled, 'The wolf and the lamb shall feed together; the lion and the ox shall eat grass (*paleas*).' Thus it has come about that nearly the whole Hungarian nation is ready to receive the holy faith, and the other Slavonic provinces are prepared to believe. The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few." [1]

The statement made by Bishop Pilgrim that the Hungarians generally were ready to adopt the Christian

[1] Mansi, *Concilia*, xix. 49. This letter was formerly supposed to have been addressed to Benedict VII instead of Benedict VI. See ibid. p. 53.

faith, must certainly have been exaggerated, as it conflicts with other evidence. One of the missionaries sent by Pilgrim was Wulfgang, a monk belonging to the monastery of Einsiedeln (Notre-Dame-des-Ermites) in Switzerland, who afterwards became bishop of Regensburg.

Wulfgang, Bp. of Regensburg.

In 994 Adalbert bishop of Prague, who had failed to see much result from his labours in Bohemia, visited Hungary, where he was well received. We have already noted that during the year or more which he spent in this country he baptized Vayik the son of the Duke Geyza (Geisa), who received the name of Stephen. His baptism, at which the Emperor Otto was present, marked a turning-point in the history of the introduction of Christianity into Hungary, though it was not till the death of Geyza, which occurred in 997, that any real progress was achieved. Geyza had tolerated, if he had not actually encouraged, paganism, and Adalbert's biographer refers to the Christianity which prevailed at the Hungarian court as "languid and lukewarm and worse than barbarism." [1]

Visit of Bp. Adalbert, 994.

In 997 Stephen,[2] who married a Bavarian princess called Gisella, became king of Hungary and in his efforts to promote the spread of Christianity he at once found himself opposed by a strong heathen party. A Hungarian prince named Kupan, who was the leader of the heathen party, disputed Stephen's possession of the throne, but was himself killed, and his adherents

King Stephen.

[1] Referring to Adalbert's work he writes:—"quibus (Hungaris) ab errore suo parum mutatis umbram Christianitatis impressit." *Acta SS.*, Ap. 22, c. vi. 16; *cf.* also *Chronicon Thietmari*, lib. viii.

[2] See Vita S. Stephani, *Acta SS.*, Sep. 2. The life, which is by the Hungarian Bishop Carthwig, was written many years after the death of Stephen.

were scattered by Stephen. In 1002 Gyula II the duke of Transylvania, who was supported by the Mohammedan Petchenegs living in Rumania, made a further attempt to re-establish paganism, but he suffered defeat, and Stephen eventually introduced Christianity into his territories and into parts of Wallachia. King Stephen, or St. Stephen as he was subsequently designated, brought to Hungary a large number of foreign missionaries, who were for the most part either Germans or Italians, and, partly by their efforts, he succeeded in effecting a radical change in the habits and customs of the Magyars. "Under him," writes Professor Vambéry, "and through his exertions the Hungarian people became a western nation. Never was a change of such magnitude, and we may add such a providential change, accomplished in so short a time and with so little bloodshed, and with such signal success as this remarkable transformation of the Hungarian people. . . . The kingdom of Hungary is called the realm of St. Stephen to this day."[1] There is, unfortunately, a great lack of contemporary accounts of his life such as might have enabled us to gain any adequate impression of his personality and character.[2] Following the example of his brother-in-law Boleslav of Poland he cultivated the friendship of the Pope, and in 1000 he sent an embassy under the charge of the monk Astrik to Sylvester II to plead for his friendship and the recognition of his position as king of Hungary.

[1] *Hungary in Ancient, Mediæval and Modern Times*, by Arminius Vambéry, pp. 65 ff.

[2] The *Acta SS.* (July, vol. iv. 326) include the lives of two Polish monks, Zoerard and Benedict, who came as missionaries to Hungary. Their lives are written by Maurus, a contemporary, but do not provide much information.

The Pope confers title of "Apostolic kings."

The Pope conferred upon him and his successors the right to call themselves "apostolic kings" and presented him with a crown which still forms part of the Hungarian crown. The letter addressed to Stephen by Sylvester suggests the close relationships that were established at this time and have ever since been maintained between the Papacy and the rulers of Hungary. In the course of the letter the Pope writes:[1] "My glorious son, all that which thou hast desired of us and of the apostolic see, the crown, the royal title, the metropolitan see at Gran (Strigoniensis) and the other bishoprics we joyfully allow and grant thee by the authority derived from Almighty God and Saint Peter and Saint Paul, together with the apostolic and our own benediction. . . . And as thy highness did not disdain to undertake the apostolic office of proclaiming and spreading the faith of Christ, . . . we feel moved to confer besides upon thy excellency and, out of regard for thy merits, upon thy heirs and lawful successors who may have been approved by the apostolic see, this especial privilege: we permit, desire and request that as thou and thy successors will be crowned with the crown we send thee, the wearing of the cross may serve thee and them as an apostolic token, even so that, according to the teachings of God's mercy, thou and they may direct and order in our and our successor's place and stead the present and future churches of thy realm."

Foundation of bishoprics and monasteries.

To the bishoprics and monasteries which he founded Stephen gave rich endowments, the greater part of which are still held by their occupants.

[1] *Epp. Sylvester II.* See Migne, cxxxix. col. 274 f.

Amongst other of his religious activities he promoted pilgrimages to Jerusalem and built, both in that city and in Rome, a hostel for the benefit of Hungarian pilgrims. He died in 1038 and was succeeded by Peter whose misrule provoked his subjects to revolt. The revolt developed into an attack not only upon Peter but upon the supporters of the Christian religion and many churches and monasteries were reduced to ruins. Peter was captured and blinded, and Andrew, who had married a daughter of the prince of Kiev, was made king in his stead (1046-1061). As soon as he was established on the throne he turned his arms against his pagan supporters and became a supporter of Christianity.

Pagan reactions.

During the reign of Bela (1061-3), who succeeded him, yet another attempt was made by the pagan party, the leader of which was James the son of Vatha, to gain control of the country, but the rising was speedily suppressed. Paganism lingered on for some time afterwards and altars were erected from time to time in secret groves, but the penalties enacted against idolatry by the kings Ladislaus (1077-95) and Coloman (1095-1114) eventually resulted in its suppression. Ladislaus added Croatia (1089) to the kingdom of Hungary, and having founded the bishopric of Agram he helped to spread the Christian faith amongst the Croatians.

Suppression of paganism.

When Pope Gregory VII, who desired to obtain his support in his contest with Germany, reminded him that the Hungarian kings had obtained their crown from one of his predecessors,[1] Ladislaus replied that "he

[1] *Epp. Gregorii VII*, lib. vi. 29. Migne, cxlviii, col. 534 f.

was ready to obey with filial submission and with his whole heart the Holy See as an ecclesiastical power, and his holiness the Pope as his spiritual father, but that he would not subordinate the independence of his realm to anybody or anything."

King Coloman.

Coloman did much to promote the social and religious well-being of his countrymen. A striking illustration of his enlightenment is afforded by his law forbidding the prosecution of witches, which runs, "Of witches, who do not exist at all, no mention shall be made."

Mongol raids, 1241.

In 1241 the Mongols crossed the Carpathians and devastated the greater part of Hungary with fire and sword, and the Christian churches were reduced to smouldering ruins. The desolation wrought by the Mongol raid is thus referred to by an eye-witness: "Here and there a tower half-burnt and blackened by smoke, rearing its head towards the sky, like a mourning flag over a funereal monument, indicated the direction in which they were to advance. The highways were overgrown with grass, the fields white with bleaching bones, and not a living soul came out to meet them. And the deeper they penetrated into the land the more terrible became the sights they saw. When at last those who survived crept forth from their hiding-places, half of them fell victims to wild animals, starvation and pestilence. . . . The famine assumed such frightful proportions that starving people in their frenzy killed each other and it happened that men would bring to market human flesh for sale. Since the birth of Christ no country has ever been overwhelmed by such misery."[1]

[1] Quoted by Prof. Vambéry in *The Story of Hungary*, pp. 141 f.

The Mongol armies were never defeated in Hungary, but, on hearing of the death of Oktai the great Khan, their leader, Batu Khan, hastened back to the East in order to be present at the election of a new Khan, and the country was left desolate but free.

CHAPTER XI

SWITZERLAND

Switzerland part of the Roman empire, A.D. 15.

THE whole of the territory now included in Switzerland came under the control of the Romans about A.D. 15. After the reorganization of the Roman provinces by Diocletian the province of Rhætia and the district of the "Alpes Penninæ" were left to form a separate province, whilst the north-western part of the country was included in the province of Maxima Sequanorum, the south-western part in the Provincia Viennensis, and the southern part became a province of northern Italy. At the beginning of the sixth century all Switzerland north of the Alps became subject to the Frankish kings. It is unnecessary to refer to the subsequent political changes which befell the districts that we now know as Switzerland, but it is interesting to recall the fact that its existence as a separate country dates from 1499. Switzerland as we now know it includes territory that formerly constituted parts of Germany, Italy, and Burgundy, and details relating to missionary work additional to those now to be given will be found under the history of the spread of Christianity in these countries.

Subjected to Frankish kings.

First Christian missionaries.

It is probable that Christian missionaries laboured in Switzerland during the third century, but the formation of the earliest Swiss dioceses dates from the fourth

century. Missionaries reached Switzerland by three different routes, from Gaul by Geneva and the valley of the Rhone; from Italy over the Great St. Bernard, by which they would reach the Helvetii of Western Switzerland; and by the way of the Grisons, by which they would reach the Rhætii of Eastern Switzerland. In the fourth century were founded the bishoprics of Martigny (Octodurum), the site of which was subsequently transferred to Sion, and of Geneva in the territory of the Allobroges; in western and central Switzerland there was a bishop of the Helvetii at Avenches (Aventicum), the site of which bishopric was transferred to Lausanne at the end of the sixth, or early in the seventh, century, when the northern part of the bishopric was assigned to the diocese of Constance. The diocese of Basle was formed probably a little later in the Civitas Rauracorum. In the fifth century the Burgundians,[1] who had become Arians, occupied a large part of western Switzerland. Early in the sixth century, when King Sigismund became a Catholic Christian, his example was generally followed by the Burgundians. From 534 the territory of the Burgundians became subject to the Franks. The Alemanni whilst still heathen migrated into north and north-eastern Switzerland. After the Franks had conquered the Alemanni in 496 Irish missionaries began to labour amongst them, and in the sixth century the diocese of Constance was founded for the Alemanni. Columbanus and Gall laboured on the shores of Lake Constance and Lake Zurich. When in 613 Columbanus went to Italy Gall remained behind to carry on his

Fourth century bishopprics.

The Burgundians.

The Alemanni.

Columbanus.

[1] For account of the conversion of the Burgundians see above, p. 187.

work, and founded the monastery afterwards known as the abbey of St. Gall.

We have already referred to the work of Columbanus amongst the Franks (see above, p. 189 ff.). When he was driven away from Luxeuil by Brunichildis he refused the invitation of the king of Neustria to settle in his dominions and was persuaded by Theudebert II, whom he visited at Metz in 610 A.D., to attempt the conversion of the Alemanni. Accompanied by a few disciples who had followed him from Luxeuil he embarked on the Rhine and, having reached Lake Zurich, he stayed for awhile at Tuggen at the head of the lake. His chief assistant was a fellow-countryman of his own named Gall, who was able to preach in the language of the Alemanni as well as in Latin.[1] The Irish impetuosity of himself and his companions added to the difficulties with which they had to contend in dealing with the heathen Alemanni and Suevi, and prevented them from making any attempts to win their affections or to soften the rigour of their preaching by a display of sympathy.

His rejection by the Alemanni.

When, for example, the Alemanni, who lived on the upper Rhine, produced a barrel containing ten gallons of beer which they proposed to drink in his honour, Columbanus, if we may believe the statement made by his biographer, breathed upon the barrel, with the result that it forthwith burst asunder with a loud crash.[2] It is hardly to be wondered at that the Alemanni rejected his message and forced the missionaries to depart. Leaving the Lake of Zurich, they settled

[1] "Non solum Latini sed etiam barbarici sermonis cognitionem non parvam habebat."

[2] *Vita*, cap. xxvi.

at Bregenz, where they found a Christian chapel that had been dedicated to St. Aurelia, to the ruined walls of which were fixed three brazen images. "These images," said the people, "are our ancient gods, by whose help and comfort we have been preserved alive to this day." Gall, the companion of Columbanus, who was able to speak to the people in their own tongue, urged them to abandon the worship of these idols and to serve the true God. Then in the sight of all Columbanus seized the idols, battered them into fragments and threw the pieces into the lake. The people offered no active opposition and shortly afterwards Columbanus and his companions, having sprinkled the building with holy water and having chanted a psalm, dedicated it afresh to God and to St. Aurelia.

He settles at Bregenz.

The fact that this church or oratory had previously been dedicated to St. Aurelia suggests that they were not the first to act as missionaries in that district. The hostility of the inhabitants, which had been aroused by the forcible destruction of their idols, resulted in the murder of two of the missionaries who were waylaid and killed in an ambuscade, whereupon Columbanus determined to seek once again a new sphere of work. "We have found," he said, "a golden cup, but it is full of poisonous serpents. The God whom we serve will lead us elsewhere."[1] His determination to leave Bregenz was strengthened by the news which reached him of the death of Theudebert. The well-known legend relating to the conversation that Gall is said to have overheard between the demon of the mountains

Hostility of its people.

St. Gall on Lake Constance.

[1] "invenimus concham auream, sed venenatis serpentibus plenam." *Vita Galli*, c. 8, 9.

and the demon of the waters, which is recorded by his biographer, is worth recording as it helps us to appreciate the reality and intensity of the struggle which the missionaries of this period believed themselves to be waging against the spiritual powers of evil, and their belief in the omnipotent power of prayer. While Gall was engaged one night in fishing on Lake Constance "he heard the demon of the mountain call to the demon of the waters. 'Here I am,' answered the latter. 'Arise, then,' said the first, 'and help me to chase away the strangers who have expelled me from my temple; it will require us both to drive them away.' 'What good should we do?' answered the demon of the waters, 'here is one of them by the waterside whose nets I have tried to break but I have never succeeded. He prays continually and never sleeps. It will be labour in vain; we shall make nothing of it.' Then Gall made the sign of the cross and said to them, 'In the name of Jesus Christ I command you to leave these regions without daring to injure anyone.' He then hastened to land and awoke the abbot, who immediately rang the bells for nocturnal service, but before the first psalm had been intoned they heard the yells of the demons echoing from the tops of the surrounding hills, at first with fury, then losing themselves in the distance, and dying away like the confused voices of a routed army."[1]

Departure of Columbanus.

Prior to the departure of Columbanus from Bregenz, and while he was meditating missionary work amongst the Slavonic tribes to the north of Venetia, an angel appeared to him in a dream and, holding before him a

[1] See *Vita S. Galli*, c. 4, 6, 7. Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, ii. 431.

map of the world, indicated to him that Italy was to be the scene of his future labours.[1] After the battle of Tolbiac (613) and the subsequent death of Theudebert his last link of connection with Gaul was severed, and he proceeded to carry out the intimation conveyed to him in his dream.[2]

Sigisbert at Dissentis.

On the departure of Columbanus for Italy Sigisbert, one of his disciples, built for himself a cell near the source of the Rhine which afterwards developed into the monastery of Dissentis. "Thus," writes Montalembert, "was won and sanctified, from its very source, that Rhine whose waters were to bathe so many illustrious monastic sanctuaries."[3] Whilst Sigisbert was building his cell he attempted to cut down an oak that was held sacred by the pagans, one of whom aimed an axe at his head. His assailant was, however, disarmed when Sigisbert made the sign of the cross, and the work of preaching and conversion proceeded without further interruption.

Death of St. Gall, 646.

Gall is said to have refused the bishopric of Constance offered him by the duke of the Alemanni, and the abbacy of Luxeuil, which a deputation of six Irish monks from this monastery besought him to accept. When he died in 646[4] the whole of the country inhabited by the Alemanni had become Christian.

Fridolin.

Another missionary named Fridolin,[5] who was perhaps a Celt, and who worked amongst the Alemanni and in the Black Forest early in the sixth century, is said to have founded monasteries at Sackingen and Basle.[6]

[1] *Vita*, cap. xxvi.
[2] See above, p. 221.
[3] *The Monks of the West*, ii. 456.
[4] According to some authorities, 629.
[5] See *Vita Fridolini*, *M. Scrip. Rer. Merov.* iii. pp. 354 ff. The life in the *Acta SS.* for March 6 is quite untrustworthy.
[6] See Hauck's *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 340 n.

CHAPTER XII

BELGIUM

The Belgæ.

In the times of the Romans the country which now constitutes Belgium was included in Gaul and was known as Gallia Belgica. Before the Christian era the Belgæ, a Celtic tribe, by which it was chiefly inhabited, had to a large extent driven out the Gauls. The Batavi and other tribes of Germanic origin subsequently invaded the country and during the fifth and sixth centuries, when the country was governed by the Franks, they formed the chief element of the population.[1] In later times a number of more or less independent duchies were formed and eventually the country came under the rule first of Austria and then of Spain, becoming an independent country in 1598. After being united to Holland in 1815, Belgium became again independent in 1831.

Early traditions.

The Roman province of Belgica Prima included as its metropolis the city of Trèves, and it is probable that from this city came some of the earliest missionaries to Belgium. The unhistorical traditions relating to the development of Christianity in the district of Trèves are worth mentioning, as they at least suggest the probability that the Christian faith was preached here at a comparatively early date.

[1] The Frisii, who chiefly inhabited Holland, occupied parts of the N.E. portion of Belgium.

Eucharius[1] is said to have been the first bishop to labour in Belgium and to have held the see of Trèves from 50 to 73. He is alleged to have converted and baptized a large number of people, and to have been followed by Valerius, 73-89, and subsequently by Maternus,[2] who is said to have occupied the see for forty years.[3] Then follows a list of fifteen bishops who are said to have been martyred within fifty years. St. Eucharius. St. Maternus.

Orosius states that the persecution of Nero reached as far as Belgium, also that the Christians at Trèves suffered. A persecution in the time of Nero.

During the reign of Marcus Aurelius there are said to have been many martyrs among the Belgic Christians. Piatus (d. *circ.* 287) is reported to have baptized many thousands and, having evangelized the district of Tournai, to have died a martyr's death during the reign of Diocletian. The Life in which these traditions are preserved is not earlier than the twelfth century.[4] Chrysolius is specially honoured at Comines in Flanders, and he and Piatus are regarded as having been the apostles of the district round Tournai.[5] He is said St. Piatus. St. Chrysolius.

[1] According to one tradition he was present at the Last Supper. Another tradition speaks of a Bishop Eucharius of Trèves who is said to have lived about 362 and to have been a brother of Eliphius who was martyred at Toul in the time of Julian. Gregory of Tours refers to Eucharius as the guardian saint of Trèves. See *Vita*, Migne *P. L.* lxxi. col. 1082.

[2] A late tradition asserts that he was the son of the widow of Nain. The legend relating to Maternus does not date back before the ninth century. There was a Bishop Maternus of Cologne early in the fourth century.

[3] Pope Leo IX (1049-54), after referring to these three bishops, wrote, "These are they, O most dear Belgian fatherland, through whom the Gospel of Christ shone upon thee."

[4] It was composed by one of the clergy attached to the collegiate church of Seclin. See also references to Piatus in the *Vita Eleutherii* by Guibertus, Migne, *P. L.* lxv. col. 63.

[5] See *Acta Sanctorum* for Feb. 7, "cum Piato presbytero ut episcopus honoratur, quia cum eo fuit Apostolus Tornacensium."

to have belonged to the royal family of Armenia, and to have been martyred in 302. Yet another saint who is said to have been a companion of Piatus is Eugenius (or Hubertus). According to a statement in Surius [1] he belonged to an illustrious family in Rome and went as a missionary to Gaul in the reign of Diocletian. Other names of reputed missionaries of about the same period are Quentin, Lucius, Ruffinus and Valerius.

St. Eugenius.

St. Martin of Tongres.

Martin, who, according to a statement of Placentius, was the seventh bishop of Tongres, is regarded as the apostle of Hesbaye, which comprised the districts round Louvain, Liége and Aerschot.

St. Servatius.

Servatius was bishop of Tongres when a pagan army from the east invaded Belgium and Gaul. With reference to him Gregory of Tours writes: "There was at this time a bishop of great sanctity, Arvatius (Servatius), who gave up his time to watching and fasting, and with many and frequent tears besought God" that the threatened calamity might be averted. When, however, he perceived "that on account of the sins of the people this boon had not been granted," he visited Rome in order to secure the help of St. Peter. There at the tomb of the Apostle it was revealed to him that, though his prayer would not be granted, he would be taken away from the evils to come. Returning to Tongres he bade farewell to his people, who entreated him not to leave them, and retired to Maestricht, where he died soon afterwards.[2] It is uncertain whether this Servatius is to be identified with a bishop of the same name who was present at the councils of Sardica

[1] Tom. v., Oct. 25.

[2] *Historia Francorum*, ii. 5. See Migne, *P. L.* lxxi., col. 197.

(343 or 344) and Rimini (359). Athanasius visited Trèves three times and on one occasion spent two and a half years there, teaching and confirming the faith of the Christians. Servatius is said to have visited him at Trèves. According to a late tradition Martin of Tours preached the Christian faith in Tournai.[1]

Victricius preaches to the Morini.

In 396 Victricius archbishop of Rouen travelled as far as the country of the Frisians, and converted many of the inhabitants of Tournai. St. Paulinus of Nola, writing to Victricius, expressed his pleasure on hearing of his successful missionary visit to the Morini, who inhabited "the extreme borders of the world beaten by the waves of a barbaric ocean."[2] He says that "instead of districts frequented by barbarians and robbers, choirs of angelic men throng the churches and monasteries" and make the isles and depths of the forests re-echo with their sacred harmonies.[3]

Invasion of the Huns.

Early in the fifth century the development of Christianity in Belgium was interrupted by the invasion of Huns, Vandals and other tribes who in 407 crossed the Rhine and devastated the land, destroying the churches and killing or reducing to slavery its inhabitants. Jerome, in a letter[4] written in 409, refers to the cities destroyed by these marauders in Belgium and France, specially mentioning Tournai, Thérouanne, Rheims, Arras and Amiens. The final result was that a large part of the work of the Christian missionaries had to be done over again, as was the case in England

A pagan reaction.

[1] See Cousin, *Histoire de Tournay*, i. 177 ff.

[2] Paulini Nolani Episcopi, *Ep.* xviii. See Migne, *P. L.* lxi. col. 259. The Morini inhabited the district in the neighbourhood of Ostend. See also Cousin, *Histoire de Tournay* i. 183 f.

[3] Id.

[4] *Ep. ad Ageruchiam.*

after the invasion by the Saxons. Remigius bishop of Rheims, after baptizing Clovis and his warriors on Christmas Day 496, sent Vedast to Arras and Antimond and Athalbert to Thérouanne, but for at least a century no extensive missionary operations were carried on within the limits of what is now Belgium.

St. Eleutherius of Tournai.

Eleutherius,[1] who is commemorated as the third bishop of Tournai, is said to have been born in 456. While he was a young man, the Franks, who had not yet been converted, raised a persecution and expelled the Christians from the city, whereupon Eleutherius and other Christians settled at a place called Blandinium (now Ghent), of which Theodorus became bishop. Eleutherius, who was his successor, became bishop about 487. His missionary labours and his efforts to protect his people against Arian teaching raised him up many enemies and he was eventually murdered in 532. He

Medardus.

was succeeded by Medardus, who became bishop of Tournai and Noyon[2] in France, and was the means of converting many to the Christian faith. He died about

Lupus.

563. Lupus, who was archbishop of Sens (in France) from 609 to 623, preached as a missionary on the banks of the Schelde and the Meuse.[3]

The first Christian Church subsequent to the invasion of the Huns of which we have any satisfactory know-

ndus.

ledge was founded by Amandus, a native of Aquitaine,

[1] The earliest existing Life, which dates from the eighth or ninth century, given in the *Acta Sanctorum* for Feb. 3, is overlaid with legend. Another Life by Guibertus is given in Migne, *P. L.* lxv. col. 59 ff. Migne also gives some discourses which have been attributed to Eleutherius, but on very doubtful evidence. For various traditions relating to him see Cousin, *H. de T.* i. 227, 237 ff.

[2] The two dioceses remained united until 1146.

[3] For a legendary biography of Lupus see *Acta Sanctorum* for Sep. 1.

who was consecrated as a missionary bishop about 629. He began his work among the Frisian tribes in the neighbourhood of Ghent and Antwerp under the patronage of the Frankish king Dagobert I., who had conquered the Frisians and Saxons at Wiltaburg (afterwards Utrecht) between 622 and 632.[1] He had been authorized by Dagobert to call to his aid Frankish soldiers in order that the pagans might be forcibly baptized, should they be unwilling to listen to his preaching, but it does not appear that this method of conversion was at all largely employed. He strove rather by redeeming captives from slavery and by imparting to them a Christian education to lay a foundation for subsequent missionary enterprise, and eventually he had the satisfaction of baptizing a number of Frisians and of converting several temples into Christian churches or monasteries.[2] He founded a monastery at Ghent which was afterwards called by the name of St. Bavon[3] and others at Tronchiennes and Renaix. By his advice Ida the widow of Pepin built a nunnery at Nivelles of which her daughter became the abbess. She secured the assistance of two Irish missionaries, St. Follianus (Faelan) and St. Outain (or Ultain), the latter of whom became abbot of Péronne and died in 680.

Ida founds a nunnery at Nivelles.

Amandus having rebuked his patron for the licentious life that he was leading, was banished for a time from

[1] See Mabillon, *Acta SS. Bened.* sæc. ii. 681.

[2] His name was connected with several churches and monasteries in later times, which were probably founded by his successors. One church and two monasteries were built by him before he left Belgium in 629. See Hauck's *Kirch. Deutsch,* i. 324 note. Other missionaries who are said to have come from Rome to assist Amandus are Landoald, Amantius, Adrian, Vincianus and Aldetrude. See Cousin, *H. de T.* ii. 18.

[3] St. Bavon, who is regarded as the patron saint of Ghent, was a follower and helper of Amandus.

Baptism of Sigebert.

the kingdom, but was recalled in 630, when he baptized Sigebert the infant son of Dagobert. Soon afterwards he left Belgium in order to undertake a mission to some of the pagan Slavs on the Danube, but, having failed to obtain a hearing from them, he returned north, and in 646 was appointed as a successor to a bishop of Maestricht.

Livinus an Irish archbishop, 633.

The next missionary who is reported to have visited Belgium was an Irish archbishop named Livinus, who is sometimes called the Apostle of Brabant. Leaving Ireland with three companions in 633, he suffered martyrdom amongst the pagan tribes of Brabant and Flanders. A biography of him exists which purports to have been written by St. Boniface of Mainz,[1] but it was probably not written till the eleventh century and is therefore of little historical value. According to this biography he worked as a missionary at Holtem near Ghent and suffered martyrdom near this place in 656.

St. Eligius.

The next missionary, whose name we know, was Eligius (St. Eloy) who, after being trained by a goldsmith at Limoges, was appointed as superintendent of the royal mint under Clothaire II. and was afterwards appointed as his treasurer by Dagobert. Whilst holding this position he was the means of redeeming large numbers of slaves, sometimes a hundred at a time, many of whom afterwards became inmates of monasteries.[2] Whilst still a layman he founded the monastery

[1] See Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 871 ff. and lxxxvii. col. 327-44.

[2] Cf. *Vita Elgii*, i. c. 10. "Nonnunquam vero agmen integrum, et usque ad centum animas, cum navi egrederentur, utriusque sexus ex diversis gentibus venientes pariter liberabat, Romanorum scilicet, Gallorum atque Britannorum, necnon et Maurorum, sed præcipue ex genere Saxonum qui abunde eo tempore veluti greges sedibus propriis evulsi in diversa distrahebantur."

of Solemniac (Solignac) in 632 near Limoges, besides contributing to the erection of numerous churches. His biographer describes the gardens of this monastery as filled with flowers and fruit trees which the monks tended under his approving eye.[1] Having previously been admitted to some of the lower clerical offices, he was consecrated in 641 as bishop of Tournai and Noyon,[2] a diocese that included all the semi-heathen districts to the north which were for the most part inhabited by Frisians. According to his biographer he induced a large number of Frisians to forsake their idols and to become Christians. He is also credited with having worked numerous miracles and with having possessed the gift of prophecy.

Monastery of Solemniac.

A missionary to the Frisians.

His biographer writes: "The peoples of Anvers, the Frisons and the Sueves and all the barbarians who dwelt along the sea-coast . . . amongst whom, as they were so remote, no one had preached,[3] at first received him as an enemy, but . . . little by little by the grace of Christ he began to give them the word of God, till the greater part of these cruel and barbarous peoples put away their idols, and were converted to the true God and made subject to Jesus Christ. And so it came to pass at length that the whole of this barbarous country was enlightened as by the appearance of a celestial light. . . . For even those who, in the be-

[1] *Vita*, i. c. 16. The only authority for the life is the *Vita S. Eligii*, by St. Ouen (Audoenus). The extant biography is a later work modelled on the original. It is printed in D'Achéry's *Spicelegium*, vol. ii., and in Surius. The homilies of St. Eligius are given in Migne's *P. L.* vol. 87. Ouen, or Audoenus, originally called Dado, was bishop of Rouen and a contemporary of Eligius. The Life of Eligius was translated by Charles de Barthélemy. Paris, 1847.

[2] Noyon is 67 m. NNE. of Paris.

[3] "prædicationis vomere exararat."

ginning, like savage beasts, had wished to tear him in pieces, when they saw his goodness and gentleness, desired to imitate him." [1]

Exhortations against pagan observances.

From the fragments of his sermons which have been preserved we see that he had frequent occasion to warn his hearers against the observance of heathen customs. Thus he writes: "He is a good Christian who putteth not his trust in amulets or inventions of the devil, but placeth all his hope in Christ alone. . . . But above all things I adjure you not to observe the sacrilegious customs of pagans nor to consult in any trial or difficulty soothsayers, fortune-tellers or diviners, for he who doeth this evil thing forthwith loseth the grace of baptism. Let there be amongst you no resorting to auguries, or sneezings, or observance of the flight or singing of birds, but rather when ye set out on a journey or undertake any work sign yourselves in the name of Christ, repeat the Creed and the Lord's Prayer with faith and devotion, and no enemy shall be able to hurt you. No Christian will take note of the day on which he leaves home or returns, for all days are made by God. No Christian will wait for a particular day or moon before commencing any undertaking, nor on the first of January will join in foolish or unseemly junketings or frivolity or nocturnal revellings. . . . Let no one regard heaven or earth or stars or any creature at all as deserving of worship. God alone is to be adored, for He alone created and ordained all things." [2]

In other sermons he portrays graphically the scene

[1] *Vita Audoeni*, lib. ii. cap. 3; Surius, December 1, vol. vi. p. 709.

[2] See *Vita Eligii*, ii. 16; Migne, *P. L.* lxxxvii. col. 528 f. The authorship of this sermon is not certain, and has been attributed by some to Cæsarius of Arles (*ob.* 542).

which he anticipates will be enacted at the Day of Judgment when those who have despised and rejected Christ will be condemned to perdition.

Remaclus, who succeeded Amandus as bishop of Maestricht in 650, urged upon King Sigebert that idolatry still prevailed in the Ardennes and that an effort ought to be made to convert the pagans. The king replied, "It is for you to teach us our duty; it is for us to fulfil it. Choose what you please in the Ardennes; my help will not be lacking to you." The bishop accordingly built a monastery at Malmédi and another at Stavelot. Acting on the suggestion of Remaclus, Trond, a rich landowner in Hesbaye, built a monastery on his estate for clergy who might assist the bishop in his missionary efforts.[1] Remaclus.

In 653 Remaclus resigned the bishopric and retired to one of his monasteries, where he died in 668.[2] His successor Theodard rebuilt many of the churches in his diocese that had been destroyed by the pagans. He offended some of the lords who had seized property belonging to the Church, and whilst on his way to complain to the king he was murdered in the forest of Biwalt, near Spires, *circ.* 670.[3] Theodard.

During the next few years the civil wars that prevailed, following on the death of Sigebert, greatly interfered with the spread of the Christian faith and the development of the Church. Lambert, who became bishop of Maestricht about 670, was driven from Lambert.

[1] This monastery was afterwards known as the abbey of St. Trond.

[2] A biography of Remaclus, written about the middle of the ninth century by an anonymous monk of Stavelot, is given in the *Acta Sanctorum* for Sep. 1.

[3] An anonymous biography of the eighth century or later is given in the *Acta Sanctorum* for Sep. 3.

his see after the death of Childeric in 673, and for seven years he lived as a monk at Stavelot, but in 681 he returned to Maestricht. He was a contemporary of Willibrord of Utrecht and shared his missionary labours. His diocese included Liége in Belgium. He was murdered (*circ.* 708) in church by Dodo, a relative of two men who had plundered the church and had themselves been killed.[1] His successor, Hubert, moved the site of the see from Maestricht to Liége, but he continued to organize and take part in missionary tours in Friesland and in the forests of the Ardennes. He died in 728.[2] A bishop named Rumold, who is referred to as bishop of Dublin, is said to have lived at Mechlin (Malines) in Belgium and to have been murdered there in 775. Several lives of him exist, but they are late and quite untrustworthy.[3]

Hubert.

Rumold.

Another missionary saint of about the same period was Gommar, who is regarded as the patron saint of Lierre. Before his ordination he had served in the armies of Pepin. According to his biographer he suffered much from the ill-temper of his wife.

Gommar.

In the middle of the ninth century the Northmen sailed up the rivers and ravaged the greater part of

[1] The most satisfactory Life is that written by Godescalus, a deacon of the church at Liége, in the middle of the eighth century. He professes to have derived much of his information from one of Lambert's disciples. It is given in Canisii, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, also in the *Acta Sanctorum* for Sep. 5.

[2] He was a popular hero in the Middle Ages and was regarded as the patron of hunting and a healer of hydrophobia. A brief life of him, written by an anonymous disciple within twenty years of his death, is given in Surius for Nov. 3, vol. vi. pp. 50 ff.

[3] See *Acta Sanctorum* for July 1. Dunan, who became bishop of Dublin about 1035, is described by Irish authorities as the first bishop.

Flanders. Liége, Tongres and Thérouanne were burnt by them. Edmond bishop of Tournai was taken prisoner and put to death with many of his people in 860. Very many monasteries were also destroyed. The Northmen were attracted by the wealth of the monasteries and churches, and were inspired by a bitter hatred of Christianity which, they had begun to fear, might eventually supplant the worship of their own deities. The condition of the Christian Church at this period was deplorable. Heathenism was nominally extinct, but the Christianity by which it had been superseded was not worthy of its name. Fleury, the historian, says that in the tenth century it was as difficult to find a true Christian as it was for Diogenes to find an honest man in the open market. At the Council of Trosli held in 909 Hervée archbishop of Rheims in an address to the assembled bishops, said, "Religion appears on the verge of ruin:[1] the whole world is delivered to the evil spirit. . . . We do not blush to confess it: it is our sins and those of the people whom we guard which attract on us cruel scourges. The voice of our iniquities has reached to heaven . . . and we who are honoured with episcopacy —what can they not reproach us with? Alas we bear the name of bishops and we do not fulfil our duties. We abandon the ministry of preaching. . . . We leave by our silence the flock of the Lord to lose itself and miss its way. . . . They call us pastors, how shall we dare to appear without our lambs?"[2] The canons of the Council of Trosli mention among other scandals that lay

Devastation wrought by the Northmen.

Deplorable state of Christian Church.

[1] "Oportet . . . Christianæ religioni jam labanti jamque velut in præcipiti vergenti . . . succuratis."

[2] Mansi, *Conc.* xviii. 263; Hefele, iv. 723.

abbots lived in monasteries and nunneries with their wives and children.[1]

A gradual improvement.

There is reason to believe that the efforts which the archbishop of Rheims made to improve the lives of the clergy and their flocks in north-east France and Belgium met with a considerable measure of success and that a gradual and permanent improvement was effected.

[1] *Can.* 2.

CHAPTER XIII

HOLLAND (FRISIA)

The oldest inhabitants of Holland of whom we have any knowledge were apparently of Celtic origin, but at the time of Cæsar, when the district between the Rhine and the Scheldt was occupied by the Celtic Belgæ, the country to the north, comprising the greater part of modern Holland, was occupied by the German tribes of the Frisians and Batavi. The Frisians and Batavi.

During the fifth century the Salian Franks inhabited a large portion of Holland, and in the course of the following century the Saxons occupied the territory which lay between the Frisians to the north and the Franks to the south. In alliance with the Frisians, they struggled with varying success against the Frankish power for 400 years until the days of Charles the Great. Early in the seventh century, when the first Christian Church was established in Holland, the Frisii, or Frieslanders, held sway not only over modern Friesland but over a large part of Holland and of the adjacent districts. They were at this time engaged in constant warfare with the Franks. Salian Franks. Saxons.

Amandus, to whose work in Belgium we have already referred,[1] was appointed bishop of Maestricht in 646, after returning from his mission to the pagan Slavs on Amandus, Bp. of Maestricht.

[1] See above, p. 322.

the Danube. His work at Maestricht met with little success, as his efforts to introduce discipline amongst the clergy of the diocese rendered him so unpopular that, despite the protest of Pope Martin I, he withdrew from his post and spent his remaining years, till his death in 661, in superintending the monasteries which he had himself established. Reference has already been made to the work of the next three bishops of Maestricht, viz. Remaclus, Theodard and Lambert, who laboured for the most part within the limits of Belgium.

Visit of Wilfrid, 678.

In 678 Wilfrid, who was flying from England in order to appeal to the Pope against the action of Archbishop Theodore, was shipwrecked on the coast of Friesland. King Aldgis (Adalgisus) and his subjects, who were pagans, showed him much kindness and in return he stayed to preach to them the Christian faith. He remained with them a whole winter and as a result of his preaching nearly all the chiefs and many thousands of their people were baptized. At the end of the winter Aldgis received a letter from Ebroïn the ruler of Neustria and Burgundy offering him a bushel of gold if he would deliver Wilfrid alive or dead into his hands, but the king, after reading the letter aloud to Wilfrid, tore it up and threw the pieces into the fire. Soon afterwards Wilfrid continued his journey to Rome through Austrasia, the king of which, Dagobert II, implored him in vain to become bishop of Strasburg. On the death of Aldgis, his successor Radbod restored paganism and the missionary work accomplished by Wilfrid was for the time undone.

Egbert of Northumbria.

In 690 a Northumbrian of noble birth named Egbert, who had lived for many years in an Irish monastery,

determined to devote himself to the preaching of the Gospel to the Frisians, or other heathen on the continent who had not yet been evangelized.[1] In spite of a vision, which he interpreted as a warning against making the attempt, he prepared to start with a band of fellow-workers, but the ship in which he was about to sail having been wrecked, he eventually remained in Ireland. One of his companions Wigbert, who succeeded in reaching Frisia, returned after two years, having failed to make any impression upon Radbod or his people. Bede writes concerning him: "He was remarkable for his contempt of the world and his skill in learning . . . but he did not find any fruit of so great labour among his barbarous hearers. Then returning to the place of his chosen banishment, he began in his accustomed silence to give his time to the Lord, and since he had not been able to benefit foreigners with regard to teaching them the faith, his care was to benefit more fully his own people by examples of virtues." [2] Wigbert.

In 692 Willibrord[3] a native of Northumbria, who had been trained in Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon and afterwards for twelve years under Egbert in Ireland, was persuaded by the latter to undertake the work which he had himself desired to attempt. Having set sail with eleven companions he was welcomed by Pepin Willibrord.

[1] *Cf.* Bede, v. 9, "proposuit . . . aliquibus eorum quæ nondum audierant gentibus evangelizando committere . . . sunt autem Fresones, Rugini, Dani, Hunni, antiqui Saxones, Boructuarii."

[2] *H. E.* v. 9.

[3] The chief authorities for his life are a letter from St. Boniface to Pope Stephen (see Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 787), Bede (*H. E.* v. 10, 11) and two lives written by Alcuin, one in prose (see Migne, *P. L.* cl. col. 693 ff.) and one in verse. His Homilies are given in Migne, *P. L.* lxxxvii. The life by Alcuin includes a long list of miracles which he ascribes to Willibrord.

in that part of Friesland which he had recently conquered from Radbod and added to Frankish territory. Bede, speaking of the beginnings of their work, refers to Pepin as "assisting them with his imperial authority, lest anyone should offer any hindrance to their preaching, and exalting with many benefits those who were willing to receive the faith: whence it came to pass that, by the assistance of Divine grace, they in a short time converted many from idolatry to the faith of Christ."[1] Soon after starting his missionary labours he visited Rome,[2] one of his objects being to secure a supply of relics which he might place in heathen temples when they were converted into Christian churches.[3] Four years later he revisited Rome at Pepin's request in order that he might be consecrated as a bishop, and returned as archbishop of Wiltaburg or Utrecht[4] (the Roman Trajectum). About the same time one of his companions named Suidbert[5] was consecrated as a bishop by Wilfrid in England (693), and started a mission amongst the Boructuarii, who lived between the Ems and the Yssel, "many of whom he brought into the way of truth" by his preaching.[6] When, a little later, Suidbert was driven away by an irruption of Saxons, Pepin, at the request of his wife Blithryda, gave him the island of Kaiserswerth below Cologne, on

Mission of Suidbert to the Boructuarii.

[1] *H. E.* v. 10.

[2] He was accompanied on his journey to Rome by Acca who after a short stay in Friesland returned to England and became bishop of Hexham. Bede describes Acca as a most expert singer, *cantator peritissimus* (*H. E.* v. 21). In another place he refers to him as "vir strenuissimus et coram Deo et hominibus magnificus" (*H. E.* v. 20).

[3] See Bede, *H. E.* v. 11.

[4] According to Bede Utrecht was given to Willibrord by Pepin, but according to Alcuin it was given to him by Charles Martel.

[5] The *Vita Suitberti* given by Surius (March 1) is probably of the twelfth century.

[6] See Bede, *H. E.* v. 11.

which he established a monastery and where he died in 713.

"The Church in Holland," says a modern writer, "owes its origin to the Saxon missionaries from England, and the cause of their success it is not difficult to determine. They came not to strangers, nor as victors, but to brothers who spoke a similar language and had preserved the traditions of their common ancestry. The Benedictine rule of the Saxon monks, more practical and less austere than that of the disciples of S. Columba . . . was better suited to the freedom-loving Frisians. Hence the English Saxons succeeded where S. Eloi and others had failed." [1]

The two Hewalds.

About this time, says Bede, "Two presbyters of the nation of the Angles, who for a long time had lived abroad in Ireland for the sake of the eternal country, came to the province of the ancient Saxons to try whether they could by preaching there bring over some to Christ." The name of both was Hewald, one being called Dark Hewald and the other Light Hewald. The people amongst whom they first stayed, fearing lest their chief should be induced by them to change his ancestral religion, murdered both the missionaries and threw their bodies into the Rhine.

After Radbod had been defeated by Pepin in 697 Willibrord appealed to him to accept the Christian faith, but, though he allowed missionary work to be carried on in his territory, he would not himself become a Christian.[2]

Soon afterwards Willibrord set out for Denmark,

[1] P. H. Ditchfield, *The Church in the Netherlands*, p. 50.

[2] Alcuin says of him, "nullis vitæ fomentis saxeum ejus emolliri potuit."

Willibrord's visit to Denmark.

hoping to be able to found a Christian mission in that country, but the opposition of the chief, Ongend,[1] forced him to retire. Before doing so he bought thirty boys with the object of taking them back with him to Utrecht to educate as future missionaries to their fellow-countrymen. Fearful lest he should be attacked, he baptized the boys in the course of his journey home so as to ensure their salvation.[2]

His visit to Heligoland.

On his way back to Utrecht he was forced by a storm to land on Fositesland (Heligoland), the pagan inhabitants of which received him with ill-disguised hostility. Their island was regarded by them as so sacred that it was forbidden to touch any animal in it or to drink of its holy well except in reverent silence. Willibrord, however, being either ignorant of their superstitions or unwilling to pay regard to them, killed three of their cattle in order to provide food for his party and baptized three men in their sacred spring. The inhabitants of the island expected that their god would instantly avenge these outrages on his dignity, and when he failed to do so reported what had happened to Duke Radbod. The latter decided that one of Willibrord's party must die in order to appease the anger of the god Fosite whom he had insulted, and one was eventually selected by lot and executed. When Willibrord was asked by Radbod why he had acted as he had done, he replied: "It is not a god, O king, whom thou worshippest, but a devil who has seduced thee into fatal error. For there is no other but one God, who made the heaven, the earth, and all things that are

[1] According to Alcuin he was "fera crudelior et omni lapide durior."

[2] See Alcuin's Life, Migne, cl. p. 699, c. 9, "volens antiqui hostis prævenire insidias et Domini sacramentis animas munire acquisitas."

therein. He who worships this God with true faith shall receive eternal life. I am His servant, and I testify unto thee this day, that thou must abandon these ancient vanities which thy fathers worshipped, and believe in one God almighty, and be baptized in the fount of life, and wash away all thy sins, and, abjuring thy iniquities and evil-doing, become henceforth a new man and walk in sobriety, justice and sanctity. If thou doest this, thou shalt enjoy eternal life with God and His saints, but if thou despisest me, who declare unto thee the way of salvation, know assuredly that thou shalt suffer eternal punishment and infernal fire with the devil whom thou obeyest." [1] The king, cowed by the bold words of the missionary, did him no harm, but sent him back with an escort to Pepin.

Assistance received from Charles Martel.

On the death of Pepin, his son, Charles Martel, who succeeded him, completed the conquest of Radbod, and added Frisia to his dominions. From him Willibrord received encouragement and assistance in his missionary campaign [2] and during his later years his work prospered greatly and churches and monasteries were erected in many different places.

In 731 Bede wrote, "Vilbrord (Willibrord) is still living, being now venerable by reason of his extreme old age . . . and after manifold conflicts of heavenly warfare sighing with his whole mind for the rewards of a heavenly recompense." St. Boniface states in a letter to the Pope that Willibrord preached during fifty years to the Frisian nation.[2] He died at Epternach near Trèves about 738 in his eighty-second year.

[1] Migne, *P. L.* cl. col. 700 f.

[2] St. Boniface, *Ep.* 90. He writes, "Frisonum magna pars adhuc pagana est"; see Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 787.

Alcuin his biographer describes him as "devotus verbi Dei prædicator."

Another Anglo-Saxon missionary, who laboured successfully at Egmond in the north of Holland, was Adelbert, a royal prince of Northumbria. He was followed by Werenfrid, who lived at Elste and preached the gospel to the Batavi, who inhabited the island formed by the Rhine and the Wahal.

Adelbert.

Werenfrid.

Other Anglo-Saxon missionaries of about the same period were Plechelm, Otger and Wiro,[1] who were favoured by Pepin and laboured as missionaries amongst the inhabitants of Gueldres, their principal residence being in the neighbourhood of Ruremond.

Plechelm, Otger and Wiro.

Wulfram, who was archbishop of Sens during the last quarter of the seventh century, is said to have made a missionary journey into Friesland, in the course of which he met with considerable success. On this occasion he baptized a son of Radbod who soon afterwards died.

Visit of Wulfram.

According to Wulfram's biographer the Frisians were at this time in the frequent habit of offering human sacrifices to their gods. Some they strangled, or hung on gibbets, others they drowned in the sea or in the river. On one occasion Wulfram was present when a boy, who had been selected by lot, was led forth to be put to death. The bishop having interceded with Radbod on his behalf, he replied, "If your Christ can rescue this boy from death, he may be His servant and yours for ever." Wulfram's biographer tells us that as the result of his prayers the rope by which the boy

[1] See *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church* by Lingard, pp. 334 f. By some Irish writers Wiro is claimed as an Irishman.

had been suspended for two hours broke, whereupon he was resuscitated and became an inmate of the monastery at Fontanelle.[1] As a result many were converted and baptized. Later on two boys aged five and seven, who had been tied to a stake and left to be drowned by the rising tide, were rescued and baptized by Wulfram.[2]

Radbod refuses to be baptized.

Radbod himself consented to be baptized and had actually dipped one foot in the font when he stopped to ask whether, in the event of his being baptized, he might eventually hope to meet his ancestors in heaven, or whether they were in the place of torment of which he had been told. "Do not deceive thyself," was Wulfram's reply, "in the presence of God assuredly is the ordained number of His elect; as for thy ancestors, the chiefs of Frisia, who have departed this life without baptism, it is certain that they have received the just sentence of damnation." On receiving this answer Radbod withdrew from the font, saying that he could not separate himself from his predecessors the chiefs of Frisia in order to sit down with a few beggars in the celestial kingdom.[3] Whether this incident be authentic or not, it may be taken as illustrating the attitude of the missionaries of this period and their teaching in regard to the necessity of Christian baptism.

The biography of Wulfram purports to have been written by Jonas a contemporary monk,[4] but it con-

[1] *Vita S. Wulframmi*. *Acta SS. Bened.* sæc. ii. i. 344.

[2] Id. i. 344-45.

[3] *Vita Wulframmi*, c. 9.

[4] See Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* iii. 1, pp. 341-48. The biography was probably revised and interpolated by Harduinus, a priest of Fontanelle at the end of the eighth century. The Bollandists declined to publish this biography and substituted a shorter version which may perhaps be the original work of Jonas. This omits the story

tains many chronological and other mistakes and its authority is of very doubtful value. Wulfram eventually retired into a monastery and died at Fontanelle in 695.

Boniface in Friesland, 715.

In, or about, 715 Boniface made his first attempt to preach the Gospel to the Frisians, but owing to the opposition of Radbod he was forced to return to England. In 754 he returned to renew his missionary effort which was then attended with considerable success, but which ended with his martyrdom at Dokkum in the following year.[1] The next missionary to the Frisians of whose work we possess any detailed information was Gregory of Utrecht. In 719 Boniface, who was visiting the convent of Paly near Trèves, was struck with the intelligence and piety of Gregory who was a grandson of the abbess Addula and was then a boy of about fourteen. His father Albricus was a grandson of Dagobert II. The boy was eager to follow Boniface in his missionary campaign and, the reluctant consent of the abbess having been secured, he went with him and became his life-long disciple and companion.[2] On the death of Boniface he was placed in charge of the church of Utrecht, being assisted by another Englishman named Alubert. Under his guidance the monastery at Utrecht became a great missionary college where youths from England, France, Friesland and Germany were trained with the special object of becoming missionaries to the pagan Frieslanders.[3]

His martyrdom, 754.

Gregory of Utrecht.

Alubert.

of the duke's refusal to be baptized. The latter died in 719, whilst Wulfram died in 695. See *Acta SS.* for March 20, vol. iii. p. 145.

[1] For a reference to Boniface's preaching in Frisia and his martyrdom at Dokkum see below, p. 374 ff.

[2] See *Acta SS.* for August 25.

[3] See Vita Gregorii in *Acta SS.* for August 25: "Quidam eorum erant de

Gregory continued teaching and preaching till he reached his seventieth year when he was seized with paralysis in his side which continued till his death three years later (781). When at length his sufferings reached their climax he saluted his successor Albric and having been placed by his request at the door of the church he received the Holy Communion and died, surrounded by his disciples to whom he said, "To-day I desire to obtain my release." [1] Death of Gregory, 781.

His numerous converts and disciples included many of noble birth from amongst the Franks, the Saxons, the Frieslanders and the English, the last of whom are referred to by his biographer [2] as a "religious race" (gens religiosa).

Yet another English missionary of striking personality was Lebuin (Liafwin),[3] who, on his arrival from England built himself a hut amongst the pagans east of the R. Ysell near Deventer, and whose holy and austere life influenced several of the Saxon chiefs in favour of the Christian faith. Eventually, however, his oratory was burned to the ground and his converts massacred during one of the Saxon risings, whereupon Lebuin Lebuin.

nobili stirpe Francorum, quidam et de religiosa gente Anglorum: quidam et de novella Dei plantatione diebus nostris inchoata, Fresonum et Saxonum: quidam autem et de Bavariis et Suevis, vel de quacunque natione et gente misisset eos Deus."

[1] "hodie volo licentiam habere." Migne, *P. L.* xcix. 768.

[2] Referring to the area covered by Gregory's activities, Liudger writes, "Trajectum antiquam civitatem et vicum famosum Dorstad cum illa irradiavit parte Fresoniæ, quæ tunc temporis christianitatis nomine censebatur, id est usque in ripam occidentalem fluminis qui dicitur Laybeki, ubi confinium erat Christianorum Fresonum et paganorum cunctis diebus Pippini regis." *Vita Greg.* v. 71. See Migne, *P. L.* cxix. col. 750 ff.

[3] On joining Gregory he told him, "sibi a Domino terribiliter trina admonitione fuisse preceptum, ut in confinio Francorum atque Saxonum plebi in doctrina prodesse deberet." See Vita Liudgeri, Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* ii. 407: Migne, xcix.

determined to make a direct appeal to the Saxons at their annual gathering for consultation and legislation which took place at Marklum in Saxony near the R. Weser. We refer later on to the results that followed this appeal.[1]

He eventually returned to the neighbourhood of Deventer and died about 775. One of Lebuin's helpers and fellow-missionaries was Marcellinus, who had formerly been a disciple of Willibrord.

Heathen reaction.

In 780 Wittekind, duke of Westphalia and one of the leaders of the Saxons, who fought against Charlemagne, destroyed all the Christian settlements in Friesland and restored for a time the whole country to heathenism. After being defeated by Charlemagne, he eventually submitted to be baptized.[2]

Baptism of Wittekind.

In 790 Alcuin, writing to Colcus, says: "Let your dilection know that by the mercy of God the Holy Church in the parts of Europe has peace, advances and grows. For the old Saxons and all the Frisians have been converted to the faith of Christ at the instance of Karl (Charlemagne), who influences some by rewards, and some by threats. Last year the same king with a great host attacked the Sclaves whom we called Vionuds and brought them into subjection to his rule." [3]

Among those who had laboured earnestly for the conversion of Friesland was a Frieslander named Liudger whose grandfather, Wursing (Vursingus) had been a friend of Willibrord. He was born about 744 and after beginning his education at Utrecht under Gregory he was, for three and a half years, a pupil of Alcuin at York, and, having been ordained deacon, returned

Liudger.

[1] See below, p. 383 f.

[2] See below, p. 346.

[3] *Ep.* iii. Migne, *P. L.* c. col. 142.

in 773 to his own country. On the death of Gregory in 781 Albricus his nephew and successor sent Liudger to Deventer to rebuild the church of Lebuin which contained his tomb and to restore his Mission. He was afterwards sent by Albricus with others to destroy the pagan temples throughout Friesland. Of the treasures found in these temples the emperor received two-thirds and the remainder was given to Albricus for the support of his work. When Albricus was made bishop of Cologne Liudger was ordained a priest and placed in charge of the mission at Dokkum where Boniface had been killed. After about seven years his labours were abruptly interrupted by the invasion and massacres of Wittekind to which we have already referred. He burnt the churches, expelled the missionaries and forcibly reconverted the inhabitants of the district to paganism. About 782 Liudger went with two companions to Rome and from there to Monte Cassino, where he spent two and a half years studying the rule of Benedict. Returning to Friesland in 785 he was given by Charles the charge of five *pagi* to the east of the R. Lauwers. After labouring here for a time he crossed the water to Heligoland. As his boat neared the island and Liudger stood at the prow holding a cross in his hands and praying and praising God, a thick cloud was seen to rise from the land, which sailed away leaving a clear sky in its wake. Liudger, according to his biographer, said, " Ye see how through the divine compassion the enemy has been put to flight, who had hitherto taken possession of this island with a dark cloud." [1] Regarding this as a sign that their

Liudger in Heligoland.

[1] *Vita Liudgeri.* Migne, *P L.* xcix. col. 779.

work would be successful, they approached the shore and having preached to the inhabitants they overturned the shrines of their god Fosite and built Christian churches in their stead. They baptized the converts at the fountain which Willibrord had used for the same purpose with results which nearly proved fatal to him. A little later the work in Friesland was again interrupted for a time by a pagan invasion and many churches were destroyed.

After the final conquest of the Saxons Charlemagne directed Liudger to undertake the evangelization of those who lived in the neighbourhood of Mimegerneford (or Mimegardeford). A missionary named Bernard had already worked in this district, 780-791. Here Liudger built a monastery and sent out thence missionaries to preach and teach and stamp out all traces of idol-worship. In 805 he was consecrated as a missionary bishop, the site of his see being fixed at Münster. His diocese included five cantons of Friesland and the country inhabited by the East Saxons which is now part of Westphalia, extending from the R. Lippe to the middle course of the R. Ems. He laboured zealously as a missionary till his death on March 26, 809.

Becomes bishop of Münster, 805.

Three biographies of him, written during the ninth century, have been preserved, the first and most trustworthy of which was written by Altfridus, third bishop of Münster, who had never seen Liudger but obtained his information from his relations and disciples.[1]

Another missionary who came from England and whose sphere of work lay in the same district was Willehad, a native of Northumbria. He was born about

Willehad

[1] See Migne, *P. L.* xcix. col. 769 ff., and Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* ii. 403 ff.

730 and was a great friend of Alcuin.[1] He began his missionary labours near Dokkum and after awhile moved to the district of Groningen, the population of which was still fanatically pagan. As a result of his preaching and his uncompromising denunciation of their idols the people rose against him at a place called Humarcha and declared him to be deserving of death for having spoken blasphemy against their gods. Some of those present, however, withheld them from carrying out their intentions and urged that they should delay and consider carefully before putting the missionary to death. They urged also that this form of religion was unknown to them and that they knew not whether it was offered to them by the will of the gods. The preacher was not guilty of any crime, and should not be put to death, but lots should rather be cast in order that it might be ascertained from heaven whether he were deserving of death.[2] This advice was accepted and, the lots that were cast having proved favourable to Willehad, he was allowed to depart in peace. He continued to labour as a missionary in the district of Drenthe, where his work prospered and a number of converts were secured. After a time, and as a result of an attempt on the part of his disciples to destroy some of the temples and idols, a rising took place near Drenthe and Willehad was again attacked. One of the pagans drew his sword and struck at him, intending to cleave his skull, but the blow only severed the thong supporting the box of relics that he was carrying. This circumstance was regarded by the

at Groningen,

and at Drenthe,

[1] Alcuin in a letter dated 789, writes, "saluta millies dilectissimum meum Uilhaed episcopum."

[2] Migne, *P. L.* cxviii. col. 1016.

pagans as a favourable omen and Willehad was again permitted to depart in safety.

and at Wigmodia.

Charlemagne now suggested to him that he should endeavour to evangelize the pagans who inhabited the district of Wigmodia, between the Weser and the Elbe, and for the next two years he worked amongst them with the result that nearly all the Saxons and Frieslanders in that district professed conversion to the faith of Christ. On the rebellion of Wittekind in 782 several missionaries were murdered and Willehad again took refuge in flight. On this occasion he visited Rome and on his way back he spent two years in a convent which had been founded by Willibrord at Epternach in France. Here he spent his time in studying the Scriptures and in transcribing the Epistles of St. Paul; his MS. was afterwards long preserved by the bishops of Bremen. In 785 he returned on the solicitation of Charlemagne to Friesland and helped to rebuild the churches which had been destroyed by the pagans. On the baptism of Wittekind missionary work made rapid progress and soon afterwards (787) Charlemagne caused Willehad to be consecrated as bishop of Eastern Frisia and Saxony. After an episcopate of rather more than two years he died at Plecateshem (Blexen) near Bremen on Nov. 8, 789. His life was written by Anskar, bishop of Hamburg,[1] in the middle of the ninth century. Within three years of his death the long struggle between Charlemagne and the Saxons ended in a final victory for the emperor and in the nominal victory of Christianity. The results which had been achieved by his armies and by the

Visit to Rome, 782.

Nominal victory of Christianity.

[1] See Migne, *P. L.* cxviii. col. 1013 ff.

missionaries who followed were consolidated by the foundation of the eight bishoprics of Osnaburg, Bremen, Münster, Minden, Halberstadt, Paderborn, Werden, and Hildesheim. Of these Bremen, Paderborn and Minden were for the Angivaric Saxons, Münster and Osnaburg for the northern Westphalians, Werden and Hildesheim were for the Eastphalians and Halberstadt was for the Thuringian Saxons. Foundation of eight bishoprics.

The first bishop of Paderborn was a Saxon named Hathumarius. According to Ido (who wrote the history of the translation of St. Liborius) Hathumarius had been given as a hostage to Charlemagne whilst still a boy and was sent by him to live at Wurzburg. He was made bishop of Paderborn and was succeeded in 815 by Baduradus. Hathumarius.

During the episcopate of Hunger, eleventh bishop of Utrecht, the city was destroyed (876) by the pagan Northmen, and at the time of its destruction it is said to have contained fifty-five churches. On this occasion the Northmen killed nearly all its inhabitants, including the clergy. Their ravages continued at intervals for more than a century. Utrecht itself was rebuilt in the time of Bishop Baldric (d. 977).

CHAPTER XIV

GERMANY

The conversion of Germany occupied 12 centuries.

THE conversion of the peoples who lived within the limits of the present German empire occupied more than twelve centuries. The first Christian communities concerning which we have any definite information had come into existence by the middle of the second century, but it was not till nearly the close of the thirteenth century that the forcible conversion of the inhabitants of Prussia to a profession of the Christian faith was accomplished, and another century had still to pass before the Lithuanians, some of whom live in Eastern Prussia, were nominally converted.

After referring to the statements that are to be found in early writers relating to the isolated Christian communities that were established in the early centuries, chiefly in Southern Germany, we shall try, as far as is conveniently possible, to treat in separate sections the progress of Christian Missions in the various provinces or districts. In many cases it will be found that the history of one province is intertwined with that of another, but it will be better to aim at keeping the story of each district distinct rather than to regard the country as a unit and attempt to fuse into one the religious development of its different peoples.

The first definite reference to the existence of Christian

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Churches in any part of Germany is the statement of Irenæus (d. 202), who writes: "Nor have the Churches founded in Germany (ἐν Γερμανίαις) believed or handed down the faith otherwise."[1] Harnack regards it as certain that there were Christian communities and bishops as early as 185 A.D. in Cologne and Mainz, and probably in other important Roman towns. Early Christian communities.

A bishop of Cologne attended by his deacon was present at the Council of Arles in 314. In 355 Ammianus refers to the "conventicle"[2] in Cologne, an expression which suggests that the Christian community in this important centre was still very small at this time. Statements by Ammianus,

Tertullian in his treatise against the Jews[3] includes the Germans amongst the number of those who had bowed the neck to the yoke of Christ, but his statement is a rhetorical one and is not to be relied on. Tertullian,

According to Ammianus the majority of the inhabitants of Mainz were Christians in 368,[4] and Arnobius, who wrote early in the fourth century, refers to the existence of about 300 Christians among the Alemanni.[5] Arnobius,

That there were organized Christian Churches in the Roman provinces of Germany by 358 is shown by the fact that Hilary of Poitiers addressed his Book on Synods to the bishops of these provinces.[6] Hilary,

In the list of ecclesiastical provinces, represented at

[1] Iren. i. 10, 3.

[2] Amm. Marc. xv. 5, 31, "conventiculum."

[3] Cap. vii.

[4] Amm. Marc. xxvii. 10.

[5] Arn. i. 16.

[6] The words of the dedication are, "Dominis et beatissimis fratribus et coepiscopis provinciæ Germaniæ primæ et Germaniæ secundæ et Lugdunensis primæ et Lugdunensis secundæ et provinciæ Aquitaniæ et provinciæ Novempopulanæ et ex Narbonensi plebibus et clericis Tolesanis et provinciarum Britanniarum episcopis."

Athanasius,

Sardica, given by Athanasius no mention is made of Germany, although the Churches of Britain are included in his list.[1]

The gradual spread of Christianity during the fourth and fifth centuries does not appear to have been accompanied by any general improvement in morals, as

and Salvian.

Salvian, who was a native either of Cologne or Trèves, regarded the invasion of the Goths as God's scourge upon the cultured world which had become Christian in name, but which was still heathen in character.

Rhætia

Limits of Rhætia.

At the time when Christianity began to spread throughout Southern Germany the state of Rhætia included, roughly speaking, the territory lying between lat. 49 and 46° N., and long. 10° and 12° E., that is the greater part of the modern states of Baden and Würtemberg, the south-west of Bavaria, and parts of the Austrian Tyrol. It included the sites of Munich and Ratisbon. In Rhætia there were Christians in Augsburg and Ratisbon (Regensburg) at the beginning of the

St. Afra.

fourth century, and St. Afra suffered martyrdom at the former place in 304. At Regensburg inscriptions bearing Christian symbols have been found dating from the latter half of the third century.[2] Before the end of the

Christian bishoprics.

fourth century there were also bishops at Sabiona (Seben) and Laibach (Emona). Athanasius refers to the organization of the Christian Church in Noricum.[3] This Christianity was, however, almost obliterated by

[1] *Apol. contra Arian.* i.

[2] See Hauck's *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 347.

[3] *Apol. contra Arian.* i.: *Hist. Arian.* 28.

the Rugian devastations at the end of the fifth century.

Valentinus.

One of the earliest missionaries in the province of Rhætia was Valentinus,[1] who began to preach in 440 at Castra Batava at the junction of the Danube and the Inn near the modern Passau. Soon afterwards he visited Rome and solicited the approval of Pope Leo on his labours. Returning to Castra Batava he found it impossible to achieve any results owing partly to the opposition of the Arians and partly to the obstinacy of the heathen. He accordingly retired to Rome and begged Leo that he might be sent to some other field of labour. At the urgent request of Leo, however, he returned again to the scene of his former work, but finding it impossible to associate in any way with the Arian Christians, he retired to the Rhætian Alps, where he built himself a cell and where his austere life attracted numerous visitors, some of whom he baptized with his own hands.

The Alemanni.

By the middle of the fifth century the Alemanni, one of the German races, had occupied the left bank of the Rhine as far as the Vosges, the greater part of Switzerland and part of Vindelicia in Rhætia. More than a century later Agathias, a Byzantine historian (who wrote about 570), described them as heathen who worshipped idols and offered horses in sacrifice to their gods.[2]

Amongst others who worked on behalf of the same

[1] His Life is based upon the record of his labours which is said to have been found in 1120 A.D. beside his body under the church at Passau. It is referred to as written "tabulâ plumbeâ, et ut vix posset intelligi . . . tum vetustate, tum terræ putrefactione dissipatâ." Surius, *Acta SS.*, August 4.

[2] For further references to missionary work amongst the Alemanni see above, p. 313 ff.

Trudpert. race mention should be made of Trudpert,[1] an Irish hermit, who helped to evangelize the inhabitants of the Black Forest, and was murdered by its inhabitants.

Kilian. An Irish bishop named Kilian (643) sailed from Ireland with two companions and worked as a missionary at Würzburg in Franconia, where many years later he was murdered, at the instigation of Geilana, the wife of Gozbert.

Pirminius. Pirminius, who was perhaps an Anglo-Saxon, founded the abbey of Reichenau on an island in the Rhine below Constance in 724. Three years later in 727 he retired into the Vosges in Alsace. Here and in the Black Forest he founded a number of other monasteries,[2] all of which adopted the Rule of St. Benedict. He has left a description written in appalling Latin which gives an account of the superstitious rites that were observed by many of the Alemanni long after they had become nominally Christian.

His description of the Alemanni.

By the middle of the eighth century there were few of the Alemanni who were nominally heathen, but very many were Christians only in name, who, whilst refraining from the worship of visible idols, continued to practise their old heathen rites.

Emmeran. About the middle of the eighth century Emmeran,[3] a native of Poitiers and a bishop in Aquitania, travelled from Aquitania to Pannonia in order to attempt the conversion of the Avares. On his way he halted at Ratisbon, where he was induced by the Duke Theodo

[1] See *Passio Thrudperti. Scr. Rer. Mer.* iv. 354 ff. (Also *Acta SS.*, Oct. 8.)

[2] See Hauck's *K. D.* i. 350 ff.

[3] A life of Emmeran written by Aribo in 772 gives the above information which is, however, of doubtful value. A later memoir written in the eleventh century, which is also untrustworthy, is given in *Canisii Lectiones Antiquæ*, vol. iii.

to remain in order to instruct his people, who had been partially converted from heathenism. He laboured for three years here and met with considerable success, but was eventually murdered by a son of the duke in 752.

Northern Bavaria

The Marcomanni.

By the time that the Bavarians (the old Marcomanni) were driven westwards from Bohemia by the Slavs a certain number of them had already become Arian Christians. The first orthodox Christian missionaries from the west to work amongst them were two disciples of Columbanus, Eustasius the abbot of Luxeuil (d. 625) and Agilus from Bobbio (d. 635).

Rupert of Worms.

Towards the close of the seventh century Rupert (Hrodbertus) bishop of Worms, who was invited to work in Bavaria by Duke Theodo II, laboured for many years as a missionary and baptized the duke and several of his nobles. He built the church that afterwards became the cathedral of Salzburg, and which served as a centre of missionary influence throughout the neighbouring districts. He then revisited his native land, and, having secured the help of twelve additional workers, he returned to Bavaria, where he laboured till extreme old age.[1] At a later date (about 716) Pope Gregory II sent a legation to organize the Church in Bavaria, but the death of the duke prevented any successful result.

Corbinian.

A Frankish hermit named Corbinian worked in Bavaria from 717 to 730, but the details of his life

[1] The account given in *Canisii Lectiones Antiquæ*, vol. iii., is of late date and untrustworthy.

which have been recorded are untrustworthy. According to a later tradition he became the first bishop of Freising.[1] In 739 Boniface, who had been commissioned by Gregory III, divided Bavaria into dioceses and did much to strengthen the influence of the Church.[2]

Bishoprics in Bavaria.

At the time of Boniface's visit the only bishop in the country resided at Passau. A second bishopric was founded at Ratisbon, which became the capital of Bavaria. To the see of Salzburg, supposed to have been founded by Bishop Rupert of Worms, he appointed a man of British origin named John, who was succeeded in 743 by an Irishman named Virgilius.[3] To a fourth bishopric which was founded at Freising Erombert a brother of Corbinian was appointed. At the same time he arranged for the foundation of two monasteries at Altaich and Benedictbeuren. In 742 Willibald, a relation of Boniface, became bishop of Eichstadt.[4]

The Bavarian Church in the 8th century.

Until the close of the eighth century the bishops, several of whom had apparently no regular dioceses, were foreigners and were consecrated away from Bavaria. As a rule they lived as monks.

Referring to the condition of the Christian Church in Bavaria and Thuringia (*i.e.* Saxony) at the beginning of the eighth century Professor Hauck writes: "If one tries to realize the condition of the Church of German origin in the first decade of the eighth century one notes that whilst a beginning had been made at many different places nowhere had a clear or definite result been reached. That which had been begun

[1] His biographer (Aribo) states that he twice visited Rome and that he was consecrated as a bishop by the Pope and received from him the pall.

[2] See below, p. 365 f.

[3] For a further reference to this or another Virgilius see below, p. 368.

[4] See Hauck, *K. D.* i. 536.

was everywhere in danger of being lost. Nor were the Irish-Scotch missionaries free from blame: they proved themselves incapable of founding a German Church. There were doubtless many true preachers of the Gospel amongst them, in many places they laboured in the service of Christianity, but they were single individuals and had no feeling in common, and their work was not a joint-labour: it resulted in the establishment of separate Christian communities, but not in the establishment of a Provincial Church. Worse still it did not lead to the formation of a native ministry. . . . It was to be the task of the Frankish Church to assist by entering upon this work." [1]

Odilo.

The political status of Bavaria underwent a considerable change during the reign of Odilo. His father Hrirbert had endeavoured to shake off the control of Charles Martel and having been defeated by him lost the whole of the northern part of his kingdom. Odilo unwisely renewed the struggle and being taken prisoner at Lechfeld had to give up to the Franks all his territory which lay to the north of the Danube. In 794 Bavaria was formally constituted a Frankish province.

Christian Germany in the 9th century.

At the beginning of the ninth century Christian Germany extended from the Rhine a little below Cologne to the Fichtelgebirge highlands and along the Böhmer Wald to Passau, and included the Hessians, the Thuringians and Bavarians. To the north of this lived the Saxons, and to the east of the R. Elbe were the Wends (Serbs),[2] Avars and Czechs, the last of whom were already in Bohemia.

[1] Hauck's *K. D.* i. 388 ff.

[2] Now represented by the Wends of Upper and Lower Lusatia

The work of Boniface

Irish missionaries in N. Germany.

Until the eighth century was well advanced the spread and organization of the Christian Church in Holland, Belgium, and Northern Germany had depended upon efforts made by individual missionaries, of whom the majority had come from Ireland. Few attempts had been made by them to act in concert with each other, or to consolidate the results of their labours. Ireland has produced, and produces to-day, illustrious soldiers and heroic pioneers in all spheres of activity, but it has produced few great statesmen or organizers, whether in the Church or the State. Had the work of consolidating the Christian Churches (which the Irish missionaries had helped to call into existence) and of rendering possible a concerted attack upon German paganism been left to these missionaries, the conversion of a large part of Northern Europe and the purification and organization of the Christian communities which it already contained might have been long deferred.

Lives of St. Boniface.

The missionary who was to inaugurate the accomplishment of this task and who was to win for himself the title of "Apostle of Germany" was the Anglo-Saxon Winfrid, more generally known by his later name, Boniface. This name was apparently assumed by him when he first became a monk. The chief authority for the story of Boniface's work is the Life written by Willibald (about 760), who was an eye-witness of much that he relates, and wrote only a few years after the death of Boniface. The monk Othlo, who wrote a longer Life about 1100, embodied the whole of the earlier work. His comment

on the absence of any record of miracles in the earlier Life increases for us its value as a historical document. He writes: "I have found that very many remarkable accounts of miracles which I have read in other books are not contained in the Life by Willibald. It may be that the writer passed over the wonderful works of Boniface in ignorance."

Kingdoms of the Franks.

Before proceeding to describe the labours of Boniface in the different territories which he visited, it is necessary to recall the political boundaries which existed in the seventh and eighth centuries in Central Europe, as these do not correspond to any which have existed in modern times. The kingdom, or rather kingdoms, of the Franks embraced what are now included in Northern France and Western Germany. The greater part of this area was divided into Austrasia[1] and Neustria, the former word meaning "eastern," and the latter "not-eastern." Clovis, the sole king of the Franks, who became a Christian in 496,[2] gave a kingdom to each of his four sons, their respective seats of government being Orleans, Paris, Soissons, and Metz. For many years before the line of Clovis became extinct in 759, the control of the Frankish kingdoms was practically vested in the chief officer or mayor of the palace. In 687 the Austrasian army defeated the Neustrian army at the battle of Testry, and the united kingdoms were governed by the mayor of the palace, Pepin, who lived at Cologne. It was this Pepin who received the missionaries Willibrord and Suidbert. He was the father of the famous Charles Martel, who stayed the tide of

[1] This is the same word as the modern "Austria," though it does not denote the same territories.

[2] Or, according to some authorities, in 507, see above, p. 189, note.

Mohammedan invasion at the battle fought between Tours and Poitiers in 732.

Early life of Boniface.

Born at Crediton in Devonshire about 680[1] of parents who were apparently connected with the royal family of Wessex, Boniface, when only four or five years old, was greatly influenced by some clergy or monks who visited his father's house, and at this early age expressed his desire to devote himself to a religious life. His father's reluctant consent having been obtained, he went, when seven years of age, to a monastery at Exeter, and later to the monastery at Nutescelle in Hampshire, which was under the charge of the abbot Winberct. By the time of his ordination as priest his reputation for learning and for business capacity had recommended him to King Ina, and the prospect of a successful career in England lay before him. His mind was, however, set upon becoming a missionary, and as practically the whole of England was now nominally Christian, his thoughts turned to the nearest pagans, whom he described as his kinsmen after the flesh,[2] and amongst whom Willibrord was then labouring. Accompanied by three brethren, he went to London,[3] and sailed thence to Dorstat on the river Lek in Frisia. At the time of his arrival Radbod, who was engaged in war with Charles Martel, refused Boniface

He sails for Frisia.

[1] According to Hauck, the date of his birth was as early as 675. For arguments in favour of this date see *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 450 n.

[2] Procopius, writing in 553, states that Britain was peopled by three nations—Britons, Angles, and Frisians. Cf. *Boniface and his companions*, by Bishop Browne, p. 17.

[3] The following is the description of London contained in the *Life of Boniface*: "Pervenit ad locum ubi erat forum rerum venalium, et usque hodie antiquo Anglorum Saxonumque vocabulo appellatur Lundenwich." See Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 611; see Bede, *Hist.* ii. c. 3.

permission to remain in Frisia. He accordingly returned to Nutescelle, the monks of which sought, but without success, to secure him as their abbot.

In 718 he left his native land once more, destined never to return. Taking with him a commendatory letter from Daniel, the bishop of Winchester, he travelled through France to Rome, where he received a cordial welcome from Pope Gregory II, who gave him a letter authorizing him to preach the Gospel in Germany, or wherever he might find opportunity. In the spring of 719, having obtained an ample supply of relics, he set out for Northern Europe. In undertaking the long, and at that time dangerous, journey to Rome in order to obtain the sanction and support of the Pope for his missionary enterprise, there can be no doubt that Boniface acted wisely, alike from the religious and the political standpoint. He had probably learned something of the unsatisfactory character of many of the bishops in Northern Europe, and had reason to fear lest his work, if undertaken without ecclesiastical sanction, might be interfered with by them. On the other hand, he was aware that the various kings and chiefs in Northern Europe, in whose territories he might hope to attempt missionary work, were constantly engaged in fighting each other, and that a commendatory letter from the bishop of Rome would be more likely to serve the purpose of an effective passport than any other document that he could produce.

Visit to Rome.

After a short visit to Liutprand, the king of the Lombards, he passed on to Thuringia, which roughly corresponds to modern Saxony. Here for a while he endeavoured to raise the standards of life of the bishops

His work in Thuringia.

and clergy, and to reclaim those of the people who had lapsed into idolatry. Having received news of the death of Radbod, he left Thuringia and joined Willibrord at Utrecht, and stayed with him for three years. Refusing Willibrord's request to become his coadjutor bishop, he started on a long missionary tour to the south-east, arriving at length in the district now called Hesse-Cassel. Here he succeeded in converting and baptizing two Hessian chiefs, Detdic and Dierolf, who had called themselves Christians, but had at the same time worshipped idols. He was also the means of converting many other Hessians, and of establishing a monastery at Amanaburg on the river Ohm. Amongst the northern Hessians he baptized many thousands near the frontier of the Saxons—that is, near the modern Hanover. Having sent Binna (who was probably an Englishman) to report his success, he was soon afterwards summoned to Rome, and proceeded thither accompanied by a crowd of brethren and retainers. The Pope, after questioning him in regard to his missionary work, and having satisfied himself that he held the orthodox faith, consecrated him as a bishop on St. Andrew's Day, 723. Returning from Rome with a commendatory letter addressed to Charles Martel, he recommenced his work in Hessia under his protection. In the course of this letter the Pope wrote: "We have felt it necessary to send our present brother Boniface to preach to the people of the German race and to various persons dwelling to the east of the Rhine, held in the error of heathenism or up to this time fettered in the darkness of ignorance."

Converts in Hessia.

Consecrated as a bishop, 723.

Boniface had no scruples in accepting the help of the

secular power which the Pope's letter to Charles Martel was intended to secure, and in a letter of his addressed to Daniel, bishop of Winchester, a little later he wrote: "Without the patronage of the Prince of the Franks I could neither rule the people nor defend the priests or deacons, the monks or nuns, nor without his mandate and the awe which he inspires could I put a stop to the rites of the pagans and the sacrileges of idol-worship." [1] There is, however, no evidence that Boniface ever invoked the help of the secular powers in order to compel any pagans to accept baptism.

His appeal to Charles Martel.

On his return to the scene of his former labours he found that, whilst some of his converts had remained steadfast in the faith, the majority of them, without abandoning their profession of Christianity, had begun again to offer sacrifices to trees and fountains, to consult augurs, and practise divination. A letter written to Boniface in 724 by Daniel, bishop of Winchester, in reply, as it would appear, to one asking for his advice, throws so much light upon the methods of missionary work adopted by the more enlightened missionaries at this period that it is worth while to quote it at some length. At the time when Bishop Daniel wrote paganism had hardly become extinct amongst the South Saxons who occupied territory contiguous to his own diocese. The Isle of Wight, too, which formed part of his diocese, had quite recently been evangelized. He begins by congratulating Boniface upon having rendered himself worthy to receive the highest honour, namely, that of being a missionary to the heathen, and by expressing the hope that those who endeavour

Letter from Daniel, Bp. of Winchester.

[1] *Ep.* xii. Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 702.

to support the missionaries may be found worthy to receive a portion of a second honour; he then goes on to say:

Grounds of appeal to pagans.

"You ought not to make assertions contrary to them in respect of the genealogy of their gods, however false they be. Allow them to maintain, in accordance with their belief, that some have been generated by others . . . so that you may prove that gods and goddesses born after the manner of men are men rather than gods, and that those who were not in existence have begun to exist. . . . They should then be asked whether this world had a beginning or whether they think that it always existed and had no beginning. If it had a beginning, who created it? . . . If they say that it always existed and had no beginning, endeavour to refute and disprove this by many documents and arguments."

After suggesting further the uselessness of sacrificing to gods when the worshippers could not even ascertain who was the most powerful amongst them, he goes on to say:

"These and many other things . . . you ought to urge not by way of insulting or irritating them, but with large and calm moderation, and at intervals their superstitions ought to be compared with our—that is, with Christian—dogmas. Their superstitions should be referred to as a side issue, in order that the pagans may blush, being ashamed rather than exasperated, on account of their absurd beliefs."

He then advises Boniface to suggest that, inasmuch as the gods of the pagans have failed to inflict punishment upon the Christians who have overthrown

their temples, they are not possessed of any real power.[1]

Destruction of a sacred oak.

About this time there occurred one of the best-known incidents in Boniface's missionary career. At Geismar in Lower Hessia stood an ancient oak called the Thunderer's Oak (robur Jovis), which was apparently sacred to Wotan (Woden), and was a rallying-point for the pagans who had turned a deaf ear to his preaching. After taking counsel with the Christians, Boniface resolved to strike a decisive blow at pagan worship by felling the sacred tree. His purpose having become known, the people assembled from far and near to witness the results which they anticipated would happen if so gross an insult were offered to the god of their country. Before Boniface had gone far in his work the tree, swaying as by a divine impulse, crashed to the ground, broken into four sections,[2] which when the pagans beheld they put aside their former maledictions, and believed and rendered thanks to God. With the assistance of his brethren he subsequently constructed an oratory out of planks made from the wood of the tree.

Missionary recruits from England.

The success which attended his efforts to convert the Saxons made Boniface eager to secure further missionary recruits from England, and with this end in view he addressed a circular letter to bishops, clergy, and abbots in England, in the course of which he wrote:

[1] See *Ep.* xiv.; Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 707.

[2] "Confestim immensa roboris moles divino desuper flatu exagitatur et palmitum confracta culmine corruit et quasi superni nutus solatio in quatuor etiam partes dirupta est." This graphic description strongly suggests that it was the work of an eye-witness. *Vita*, c. viii. Migne, lxxxix. col. 619.

"We beseech you that you will deign to remember us in your prayers. . . . Pray God and our Lord Jesus Christ, who would have all men to be saved and come to a knowledge of God, that He will vouchsafe to convert to the catholic faith the hearts of the pagan Saxons. . . . Have compassion on them, for they themselves are wont to say, 'We are of one blood and of one bone.'"[1]

Wigbert.

Amongst the number of those who responded to this appeal was Wigbert,[2] a native of Dorset, who had been a monk of Glastonbury. He was appointed by Boniface as abbot of Fritzlar, and was one of a large number of readers and writers and men skilled in various arts who came from England to work under Boniface's direction.

Women missionaries.

Others mentioned by Othlo are Burchardt, Lul, Willibald and his brother Wunnibald, Witta, and Gregorius. The names of the women who, as Othlo tells us, responded to Boniface's appeal included Chunihild (the aunt of Lul) and her daughter Berathgid, Chunitrud, Tecla, Leoba, and Walpurgis, the sister of Willibald and Wunnibald. The first two became heads of monastic institutions in Thuringia; Chunitrud was sent to Bavaria "to scatter there the seeds of the divine word"; Tecla undertook work at Kitzingen and Ochsenfurt; Leoba presided over a large number of nuns at Bischofsheim, assisted for a time by Walpurgis. These workers apparently reached Boniface in 748. In a letter written a few years earlier and addressed to Leobgytha (Leoba), Tecla and Cynehild

[1] *Ep.* xxxvi. Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 735.

[2] His Life was written by Servatus Lupus, the abbot of Lerrières, about 836. A letter of his is preserved announcing his safe arrival to the monks at Glastonbury. See *Ep.* lxx. Migne, *P. L.* col. 773.

and the "lovable sisters" dwelling with them,[1] he begs for their prayers lest he should die without leaving behind him spiritual sons and daughters. "For many," he writes, "who I thought would be placed as sheep at Christ's right hand in the coming Judgment are seen to be stinking, butting goats, who must be placed on the left hand."

Letter from Gregory III.

Pope Gregory II died in February 731, and in the following year Boniface wrote to his successor Gregory III, to give him some account of his missionary labours and to ask for his approval and friendship. The Pope replied by sending him the pall of an archbishop, and in the course of his letter he wrote:[2]

"Great thankfulness possessed us when we read in the letter of your most holy brotherliness that by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ you had turned very many from heathenism and error to the knowledge of the true faith. . . . You inform us that by the grace of our Lord crowds have been converted to the true faith, and that on this account you are unable to visit all and to teach them that which tends to salvation, since by the grace of Christ His faith is spread far and wide."

He then authorises him to ordain bishops to minister to the increasing Christian communities. Soon after this Boniface paid a brief visit to Bavaria, of which Duke Hucpert was the ruler, but after deposing a schismatic named Eremulf, and "converting the people from the idolatry of his perverse sect," he returned to his own diocese. In 738 he paid a third visit to Rome,

Visit of Boniface to Bavaria.

He revisits Rome, 738.

[1] *Ep.* xxii. Migne, *P. L.* col. 721 f.

[2] *Epistolæ S. Gregorii III.* i. Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 575 f.

where he spent the greater part of a year. His desire on setting out for Rome had been to relinquish his labours in Hesse and Thuringia, and to devote the rest of his life to the prosecution of missionary work amongst the Saxons. The Pope, however, urged him to go to Bavaria, of which Odilo had become duke, and to reform and reorganize the work of the Church in that country. During his stay in Bavaria Boniface received a letter from Gregory III, in the course of which he wrote:

"In the letters of your brotherliness you have told us of the peoples of Germany whom our God of His pity has freed from the power of the pagans, and to the number of a hundred thousand souls has deigned to gather into the bosom of Mother Church by means of your efforts and the help of Karl, prince of the Franks. We have read what you have done in the province of the Bavarians. . . . Confirm the hearts of the brethren and of all the faithful who are beginners in those western parts where God has opened further the way of salvation; desist not from preaching. . . . Be not reluctant, most loved brother, to undertake rough and diverse journeys, that the Christian faith may be spread far and wide by your efforts." [1]

Death of Charles Martel, 741.

Gregory III and Charles Martel both died in 741. On the death of the latter his kingdom was divided between his sons Carloman and Pepin, the former receiving Austrasia, Swabia, and Thuringia, and the latter Neustria and Burgundy. Charles Martel had long opposed all efforts to introduce reform into the Frankish Church, but Carloman, soon after his acces-

[1] *Epistolæ S. Greg. III.* vii. Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 584.

sion, sent for Boniface and urged him to undertake the reformation of the Church in his dominions.

A question of re-baptism.

In one of the letters addressed by Pope Zacharias (741) to Boniface reference is made to a case which is of interest to those engaged in the work of pioneer Missions, and to which it would be possible to find parallels in other parts of the Mission-field. The story is best told in the words used by the Pope. He wrote:

"Virgilius and Sedonius, religious persons dwelling in the province of the Bavarians, have sent letters to us, and have intimated that your reverend brotherliness has given them injunctions to re-baptize Christians. Hearing this, we were greatly disturbed and fell into wonderment if the thing is as is said. They have reported that a certain priest in the province, who was completely ignorant of Latin, said when in the act of baptizing, in broken Latin, 'Baptizo te in nomine Patria et Filia [1] et Spiritus Sancti.' And on this ground your brotherliness has thought that there should be re-baptism. But, most holy brother, if he who baptized did not introduce error or heresy, but from mere ignorance of the Roman speech used broken Latin, we cannot agree that the persons should be re-baptized. For, as your holy brotherliness is well aware, anyone baptized by heretics in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost ought by no means to be re-baptized, but should be cleansed by simple imposition of the hand." [2] The principle involved in the incident to which the Pope here refers is one of far-reaching importance.

[1] *I.e.* "fatherland and daughter" instead of "Father and Son," "Patris et Filii"; one MS. reads "sancta for sancti."

[2] *Epistolæ S. Zachariæ*, vii. Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 920.

Teaching of Virgilius.

An Irishman named Virgilius, who has sometimes been identified with the person mentioned by the Pope in the foregoing letter, was accused by Boniface of teaching perversely that there was another world and other men below the earth with a sun and moon of its own. It is not quite certain whether this Virgilius simply maintained the existence of the antipodes, or whether he believed in a race of fairies, but the condemnation uttered by the Pope was expressed in no uncertain language. He wrote:

"With regard to the perverse and iniquitous doctrine which he has uttered against God and his own soul, if it is made clear that he maintains that beneath the earth there is another world, with other men and a sun and moon, call a council, drive him out of the Church, depose him from the honour of priesthood." [1]

The same or another Virgilius [2] was subsequently made bishop of Salzburg, and acted as a missionary in Carinthia.

Boniface rebukes the Pope.

Boniface showed himself on many occasions a dutiful servant of the Popes, but on one occasion at least he ventured to rebuke the Pope for his negligence in allowing scandals to grow or to remain unchecked, and for compelling those to whom palls were to be given to make presents of money to himself. In a letter addressed to Pope Zacharias in 742 he rebukes him for allowing the clergy in Rome to be guilty of immoralities and for permitting the growth of pagan superstition in Rome itself, the existence of which

[1] *Epistolæ S. Zachariæ*, xi. Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 946 f., dated May 1, 748.

[2] For a discussion of the identity of this and the other two who bore the same name see *Boniface of Crediton and his Companions*, by Bishop Browne, p. 107 f.

caused scandal in Germany and in other countries far distant from Rome.[1]

In another letter to Pope Zacharias (in 742) Boniface announced that he had divided his province and had established bishoprics at Wirzaburg (Würzburg), Buraburg, and Erphesfurt (Erfurt). Of these new bishoprics the last, which he describes as having been a city of rustic pagans,[2] was to serve Thuringia, Buraburg was to serve Hessia, and Würzburg, part of what was afterwards called Franconia. The first bishop of Buraburg was an Englishman named Witta, who was one of the missionaries who came out to work with Boniface. The first bishop of Würzburg was another Englishman named Burchardt from Malmesbury. Reference has already been made to Kilian[3] who is said to have laboured in Eastern Franconia seventy years before the time of Burchardt, and to have been consecrated by the Pope as a "regionary Bishop." He and two companions were murdered by orders of Geilana, the wife of the duke, whose marriage Kilian had declared to be incestuous. Formation of new dioceses.

One of Boniface's pupils who did much to promote the extension of missionary work in Bavaria was Sturmi, the first abbot of the famous monastery of Fulda. He had been entrusted to the care of Boniface by his parents in Bavaria, and was placed under the charge of the English Wigbert, the first abbot of Fritzlar. After being ordained priest he laboured for three years as a missionary amongst pagans, at the end of which time he asked that he might be allowed to live a monastic life. Boniface, who desired to found a strong centre Sturmi.

[1] *Ep.* xlix.

[2] "Urbs paganorum rusticorum."

[3] See above, p. 352. His Life was written by Servatus Lupus about 836.

of missionary work in the direction of Bavaria, sent Sturmi to explore the great beech-forest of Buchonia, which then occupied a large part of Central Germany, in order that he might choose a suitable site for a new monastery. The site, which was selected on the river Fulda, having been obtained from Carloman, Sturmi and seven companions began the task of clearing the forest on January 12, 744. Two months later Boniface arrived and commenced the building of a stone church. Sturmi was sent to study the monastic life for two years at Rome and Monte Cassino, and was then placed in charge of the new monastery, which before his death contained 400 monks.

Foundation of monastery at Fulda.

Paganism in N. Germany.

From Willibald's Life of Boniface we can gather a few particulars in regard to the religious practices of the pagans in Northern and Central Germany. They worshipped trees and springs and sacrificed the flesh of various animals, and before undertaking any important business they were accustomed to practise auguries or to cast lots. The form in which converts to the Christian faith were asked by Boniface to renounce the worship of idols and to declare their belief in God has been preserved. It runs as follows:

A Christian catechism.

"*Q.* Dost thou forsake the devil? *A.* I forsake the devil.

"*Q.* And all the devil's wage? *A.* And I forsake all the devil's wage.

"*Q.* And all the devil's works? *A.* And I forsake all the devil's works and words, Thunor and Woden and Saxnote,[1] and all the fiends that are their companions.

[1] Saxnote or Saxneat was regarded by the East Saxons as the son of Woden. Possibly the word Saxon is derived from it.

"*Q.* Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? *A.* I believe in God the Father Almighty.

"*Q.* Dost thou believe in Christ the Son of God? *A.* I believe in Christ the Son of God.

"*Q.* Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost? *A.* I believe in the Holy Ghost." [1]

A council of Frankish clergy, 742.

In 742, after an interval of more than eighty years, a council of Frankish clergy was held. One of the decrees issued by Carloman on the authority of this council reveals the existence of pagan observances amongst those who were nominally Christians. It reads thus:

Its references to pagan customs.

"We have decreed that, according to the canons, each bishop in his own diocese shall take anxious care, with the help of the count, who is the protector of the Church, that the people of God do not perform pagan rites, but entirely put away and spurn all heathen impurities. Sacrifices for the dead, soothsaying, divining, phylacteries, auguries, incantations, immolations which foolish men carry on with pagan rites near the churches under the name of holy martyrs or confessors, provoking to anger God and His saints, those sacrilegious fires which they call *niedfyor*,[2] indeed all pagan observances, whatever they may be, they must diligently prohibit. . . . We have decreed also, as my father had before decreed, that whosoever performs pagan observances in any respect be mulcted in fifteen shillings."

[1] For a photographic facsimile of this *abrenuntiatio* see *Boniface and his Companions*, by Bishop Browne (whose translation of the old Saxon words I have used), p. 212.

[2] *Niedfyor* apparently denotes the rubbing of dry sticks together to make a fire, through the smoke of which persons and animals passed.

Reformation of the Frankish Church.

At a council held by Pepin at Soissons in 744 decrees of a similar character were passed, and in the following year Pepin and Carloman brought together a joint council under the presidency of Boniface, which inaugurated an extensive reformation of the Frankish Church.

Boniface's letter to Pepin, 753.

In 753 Boniface, now an old man, wrote from Mainz to Fuldrad, chaplain to Pepin, who had been crowned as king in the previous year, begging for an assurance that the band of missionary workers whom he had gathered round him would not be dispersed or suffered to want material support in the event of his own death. In the course of this letter he wrote:

He appeals for the support of his disciples.

"I pray our king's highness for the name of Christ the Son of God, that he would deign to inform and command me, while I still live, about my disciples, what means of support he will after (my death) provide for them. For almost all of them are foreigners (*peregrini*). Some are priests appointed in many places to minister to the Church and peoples, some are monks in our cells, and young boys set to learn to read, and some are old and have for a long time lived with me and laboured and helped me. I am anxious about all of these, that they may not be dispersed on my death, but may receive from your highness the means of subsistence and protection, not scattered as sheep not having a shepherd, and that the people near the pagan border (*marca*) may not lose the law of Christ. For the same reason I earnestly in God's name pray . . . that you would appoint my dear son and fellow-bishop Lul to this ministry of peoples and churches, and make him preacher and teacher of priests and peoples. . . .

But this especially I beg may be secured, that my priests near the pagan border may have some poor livelihood. Bread to eat they can obtain, but clothing they cannot find there, and must obtain from elsewhere by means of those able and willing to help them to live and endure in those places for the ministry of the people, even as I in a similar way have helped them." [1]

From this letter we gather that the number of English missionaries who were working under Boniface's direction was very large, and that their work had not been self-supporting or maintained by the voluntary contributions of their fellow-Christians, but had been to a considerable extent dependent upon a subsidy supplied either by the king or the archbishop.

Invasion of heathen Saxons.

In a letter addressed to Pope Stephen III (apparently in 755) Boniface refers to an invasion of heathen Saxons as an excuse for not having written to him before, and describes himself as "being pre-occupied with the restoration of the churches that the pagans have burned. They have devastated," he says, "and burned more than thirty churches." [2]

For a long time before writing this letter to King Pepin Boniface had desired to devote what was left of his life to missionary work amongst pagans, and specially amongst the Frisians, to whom he had attempted to preach on the occasion of his first visit to the Continent. He was now aged seventy-five.[3] Having secured the appointment of Lul as his successor, and the assurance that his other fellow-workers would not be allowed to suffer want, he made preparations for

[1] *Ep.* lxxix. *Cf.* Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 779.
[2] *Ep.* lxxviii. Migne, *P. L.* lxxix. col. 779.
[3] See above, p. 340.

a missionary campaign amongst the heathen Frieslanders, a campaign which he clearly foresaw would result in his own martyrdom.

Final visit to Frisia.

The account of his final visit to Frisia and of his death there can best be given in the words of his first biographer, Willibald. Before setting out on his voyage down the Rhine he said to Lul:

"From my longed-for journey I shall not return, for the day of my departure is already at hand, and the time of my death draws near. I shall lay down this work-house (*ergastulum*) of my body and pass to the prize (*bravium*) of eternal recompense. . . . My son, get ready everything that you can think of for my use in this journey, and in my chest of books place the linen shroud in which my decrepit body shall be rolled." [1]

He embarked in a boat on the Rhine accompanied by three priests, three deacons, four monks, and forty-one laymen, and was joined at Utrecht by Eoban,[2] whom he had himself placed in charge of this see. Their destination was Eastern Frisia, part of which is now covered by the Zuyder Zee. Missionary work was carried on by them amongst several different tribes, and in a short time [3] a number of churches were built and thousands of men, women, and little children were baptized. After much successful work had been accomplished the missionaries, who had been scattered over a wide area, were summoned by Boniface to meet him about Whitsuntide near Dokkum, about twenty miles N.W. of Groningen, in order that

Converts in E. Frisia.

[1] *Vita.* Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 626 f.

[2] So Othlo; Willibald gives the name as Cœbaneus.

[3] "post paucos dies." Othlo.

the rite of confirmation might be administered to many of those who had been recently baptized.

The pagan Frisians, who had become aware of the gathering, resolved to put an end at once to the missionaries and their work, and on the appointed day, which was apparently the Thursday in the second week after Whitsunday (June 5, 755),[1] they rushed upon the Christians, who numbered fifty-two, brandishing their spears. Whilst some of the members of Boniface's party prepared to defend him, he called the clergy round him and, taking the relics of the saints which it was his custom to carry with him, he thus addressed the Christians : Martyrdom, 755.

"Cease, my children, from conflict, and put aside your purpose of battle, for by testimony of the Scriptures we are bidden to return not evil for evil but good for evil. For now is the long-desired day, and the voluntary time of our departure is at hand. Be strong therefore in the Lord, and suffer willingly that which He permits ; set your hopes on Him, and He will deliver your souls." His last words.

To the priests and deacons and those of inferior order vowed to the service of God, speaking as with the voice of a father, he said :

"Brothers, be of brave mind, and fear not those that kill the body, but cannot kill the soul that has an endless life, but rejoice in the Lord and fix on Him the anchor of your hope. He will forthwith give to you for ever your reward, and will grant to you a seat in the hall of heaven with the angelic citizens on high.

[1] According to the *Annales Fuldenses* the year of the martyrdom was 754. See Hauck, *K. D.* vol. i. p. 590 f.

. . . Receive with constancy this momentary blow of death, that ye may reign with Christ for ever." [1]

The pagans forthwith rushed upon the little band of Christians and killed them. His biographer tells us that the last words which Boniface spoke were uttered in the English language. A retributive punishment, which Willibald regarded as divinely ordered,[2] speedily overtook the murderers. The pagans had expected to find gold and other treasures in the tents of the Christians, and after massacring them, fought furiously amongst themselves in order to decide who should become the owners of the expected booty. When, however, the survivors from the fight undid the cases in which they expected to find gold, they found nothing but manuscripts and cases of relics, which they scattered on the ground in rage and disappointment. Three days later the survivors were attacked by a band of armed Christians, who put to death the murderers, and carried off their wives and children and servants, whom they eventually forced to become Christians.

Punishment of his murderers.

One of the modern biographers of Boniface, discussing wherein his strength lay, writes:

Character of Boniface.

"God's will was everything to him. His own will was strong and resolute, but he never showed signs of self-will. He seems at times to submit his will, or to propose to submit his will, too completely to his friend and superior seated on the spiritual throne in Rome. But it was his will, not his conscience, that he submitted. . . . A ruler of men, he was a friend of men; stern, he was gentle and tender. Reliant on God for

[1] *Vita.* Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 628 f.

[2] "mirabili omnipotentis Dei dispositione."

guidance and grace, he prized deeply, and depended greatly upon, the affectionate sympathy of men and women, whether close at hand or separated from him by continent and ocean. We cannot doubt that his missionary success was due in large part to the fact that he was so very human. The need for human sympathy and affection grew and grew upon him till it became the dominant note of his communications with friends and, indeed, with strangers too. . . . To take the knowledge of Christ to the heathen who had it not was much more congenial to a man of his temperament, of his gifts, than the work of dealing with the errors, the vices, of those who had the knowledge of Christ and lived worse than the heathen lived. The one was the impulse of his heart, the other was a task, a burden imposed upon him from without. . . . The moment he can properly escape from the ungrateful task of governing self-willed and heathenish Christians he goes off joyfully to the pagan fields once more, in the work so dear to his heart of hearts, to do and to die." [1]

To quote another modern writer, who writes from the country in which Boniface's work was done, Professor Hauck, of Leipzig, says :

" As an individual he was only distinguished by the fact that he was what all were, only purer, truer, and fuller then all. His character was greater than his talent. On this account he stands high as a moral personality ; he was a straightforward and true man, who in his work sought not his own interest, but undertook it in the capacity of a servant. . . . His letters

[1] *Boniface and his Companions*, by Bishop G. F. Browne, pp. 279-81.

reveal a rare capacity for love, a lively need for friendship. It is significant that the words 'Hold fast to an old friend' were often on his lips. . . . He is the type of a man belonging to the Middle Ages in that he undertook without questioning that which authority commanded, and without reflecting whether it were right, held fast to it; . . . with the strength of a conviction that was never shattered by doubt, a loyalty to duty, and a spirit of conscientiousness were combined a gift of leadership and the inherited tenacity (*angeerbte Zähigkeit*) of the Anglo-Saxon nature. Herein lies the secret of his success." [1]

His reliance on intercessory prayer.

The supreme importance which Boniface attached to intercessory prayer, and the eagerness with which he sought to obtain from his friends the help of their prayers for the accomplishment of his missionary work, might be illustrated again and again from his own letters. Two examples will suffice.

In a letter addressed to Cuthbert, the abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, dated about 735, he writes:

"With heart-felt prayers we entreat the piety of your brotherliness that we may be helped by your devout petitions who labour among the fierce and ignorant peoples of Germany and are planting the seed of the Gospel, that the fierce heat of the Babylonish furnace may be extinguished in us, and the few seeds scattered in the furrows, may spring up and multiply." [2]

In a letter addressed to Archbishop Egbert in Northumbria he writes:

[1] *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, vol. i. p. 592 f.

[2] *Ep.* xxxvii. Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 735 f.

"With heart-felt prayers we entreat your clemency, that your piety would pray for us in our labours and dangers, for great necessity presses upon us to seek the help of the just, as it is written, 'The persistent prayer of a just man availeth much.'"[1]

Prayers for the living and dead.

It would appear from a study of Boniface's letters and the answers addressed to him that have been preserved that he did much to establish and to systematise the custom which prevailed soon after his time that bishops, heads of monasteries, and other persons should keep a list of persons both living and dead for whom they were pledged to pray at regular and frequent intervals. The "Fraternity book," or "Confraternity book," belonging to a monastery contained a list of those for whom the prayers of its inmates had been promised, and frequent additions were made to its contents.

His letters contain references to several persons with whom, as with Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, he had entered into a definite contract for mutual intercessory prayer.

Permanent results of his work.

Although Boniface's activities were confined to a small section of Germany, his work left a permanent impress upon the ecclesiastical organization of the Church throughout that country, and to a lesser extent upon its spiritual life and ideals. He had great missionary successors, such as Otto, Vicelin, and Adalbert of Julin; but if we take into account the fact that, unlike these, he was content to rely almost entirely upon moral and spiritual influences for the furtherance of his designs, we cannot but feel that he has a just

[1] *Ep.* xxxviii. Migne, *P. L.* lxxxix. col. 738. A.D. 736.

claim to the title by which he has been designated, the "Apostle of Germany."

Sturmi at Fulda.

We have already alluded to the foundation of the monastery at Fulda and to the appointment of Sturmi as its abbot.[1] In consequence of a quarrel with Archbishop Lul, from whose jurisdiction the Pope had exempted the monastery of Fulda, Sturmi was for a time driven away from Fulda by order of Pepin. He was, however, eventually restored and continued his task of superintending the monastery and of preparing those who might act as missionaries in the surrounding districts.

The Conversion of the Saxons

Charlemagne's wars with the Saxons.

In 772 Charlemagne began the first of a series of wars which he waged against the Saxons. The Saxons at this date occupied the greater part of Northern Germany and were divided into three principal tribes, the Ostphalians, the Westphalians and the Angarians. Charlemagne was convinced that the safety and well-being of Europe depended not only upon their conquest in battle but upon their conversion to the Christian faith. At this period the Saxons possessed few towns, or large villages, and inhabited the "endless forests, the broad heaths and the trackless swamps" which constituted a large part of Northern Germany. They knew that the profession of Christianity would be followed by the building of churches and that the churches which the missionaries would build would in

Opposition of the Saxons to Christianity.

[1] The life of Sturmi was written by Eigilis who was a monk at Fulda from 818 to 822, and had known him intimately for more than twenty years. The life is given in Migne, *P. L.* cv. col. 422 ff.

course of time become centres of villages and eventually of towns subject to a stable form of government. Unwilling as they were to abandon their roving and migratory habits, it was but natural that they should vehemently oppose the spread of Christianity in their midst. It is a matter for profound regret that Christian missionaries were never afforded the opportunity of bringing to bear upon them moral and spiritual influences, but were handicapped by the knowledge which the Saxons possessed that to listen to their preaching would be the prelude to the break-up of their social and political life. The history of Germany would have been far happier than it has been, and its present prospects would be very different from what they are, had the ancestors of the Germanic peoples been converted to Christianity by missionaries instead of by soldiers. It would have been better for the Saxons if, like the inhabitants of Gaul, they could first have been conquered and to some extent civilized by a non-Christian power and could subsequently have received their Christianity from independent missionaries.

Results of their forcible conversion.

At the opening of the ninth century Charlemagne (742-814) ruled without a rival from the Baltic to the R. Ebro in the Spanish Peninsula, and from the English Channel far down into Italy. His wars with the Saxons resulted in the addition to his empire of the greater part of the territories now included in Germany. He had a real and deep regard for religion,[1] and we must not allow his disregard of Christian morality [2]

Charlemagne's empire.

His character.

[1] His biographer wrote of him, "religionem christianam qua ab infantiâ fuerat imbutus sanctissime et cum summâ pietate coluit." *Vita.* Migne, *P. L.* xcviii. col. 50.

[2] See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, ii. 279, "the religious Emperor . . . troubled not himself with the re-

and the savage cruelty with which his wars were frequently waged to prevent us from recognizing the fact that he strove honestly and with a large measure of success to raise the moral and intellectual condition of the clergy throughout his wide dominions. In Neustria and Burgundy especially, where the influence of Boniface had hardly been felt, Charlemagne effected real and lasting reforms. Under the guidance of Alcuin he founded schools for the training of missionaries and other clergy and by this means did much to raise the intellectual standard of the Church. At fifty-six diets or synods, held during the thirty years of his reign, Church reform was discussed and many measures were passed which were for the welfare of the Church and its work. Though the language employed grates upon our ears,[1] as we remember the life and character of the writer, we cannot doubt the sincerity of the appeals which he addressed from time to time to the bishops and other representatives of the Church, and the leaders of missionary enterprise. In one addressed to Archbishop Odilbert of Milan in 811, which is typical of many others, he wrote:

His social and religious reforms.

His letter to Bp. Odilbert.

"Although we are aware that your holiness is intent and watchful in sacred matters, we cannot but urge and exhort you by our letters, inspired by the Holy

straints of religion. The humble or grateful Church beheld meekly, and almost without remonstrance, the irregularity of domestic life which not merely indulged in free licence, but treated the sacred rite of marriage as a covenant dissoluble at his pleasure." On the death of his fourth wife "he was content with four concubines."

[1] In a letter to Pope Leo III (796) he wrote:—"It is our privilege, according to the help vouchsafed to us by the divine mercy, to defend by arms in all places the holy church of Christ from the incursions of pagans and the devastations of unbelievers, without and within to fortify it by the recognition of the Catholic faith." See Migne, *P. L.* xcviii. col. 108.

Spirit, to labour in the Church of God ever more zealously and more vigilantly in preaching and in teaching wholesome doctrine, that through your most devoted skill the word of eternal life may increase and spread and the number of Christian people may be multiplied to the praise and glory of God our Saviour. We desire to know both by letter and from yourself in what manner you and your suffragans teach and instruct the priests and the people committed to you concerning the sacrament of baptism, why an infant is first made a catechumen, . . . concerning the Creed how it is interpreted by the Latins, . . . concerning the renunciation of the devil and all his works and pomps, what is renunciation and what are his works and pomps? . . . All these things be diligent to tell us precisely in writing." [1]

Lebuin.

In or about 775 an English missionary Lebuin, to whose work at Deventer in Holland we have already alluded,[2] determined to appeal in person to the Saxons at their annual gathering at Marklum (Markelo) in Saxony, near the R. Weser. Arrayed in priestly garments, with an uplifted cross in one hand and a copy of the Gospels in the other hand, he presented himself to the Saxons as they were about to offer sacrifices to their national gods, who, amazed at his courageous bearing, gave him at first an attentive hearing. The following are the words of his address as recorded by his biographer:

His appeal to the Saxons at Marklum.

"Hearken unto me, and not so much to me, as to Him who speaks to you through me. I declare unto you the commands of Him whom all things serve and

[1] Migne, *P. L.* xcviii. col. 933.

[2] See above, p. 341 f.

obey. Hearken, attend, and know that God is the Creator of heaven and earth, the sea and all things that are therein. He is the one, only and true God. He made us and not we ourselves, nor is there any other beside Him. The images which ye think to be gods, and which, beguiled by the devil, ye worship, are but gold, or silver, or brass, or stone, or wood. . . . God, the only good and righteous Being, whose mercy and truth remain for ever, moved with pity that ye should be thus seduced by the errors of demons, has charged me as His ambassador to beseech you to lay aside your old errors, and to turn with sincere and true faith to Him by whose goodness ye were created. In Him you and all of us live and move and have our being. If ye will truly acknowledge Him, and repent and be baptized, in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and will obediently keep His commandments, then will He preserve you from all evil, and will grant unto you the blessings of peace here, and in the life to come the enjoyment of all good things. But if ye despise and reject His most salutary counsels and refuse to correct the error of your wicked heart, know that ye will suffer terrible punishment for scorning His merciful warning. Behold I declare unto you the sentence which has gone forth from His mouth and which cannot change: if ye do not obey His commands, then will sudden destruction come upon you. For the king of all the heavens hath appointed a brave, prudent and most vigorous prince who is not afar off, but close at hand. He, like a most swift torrent, will burst upon you and subdue the ferocity of your hearts, and crush your stiff-necked obstinacy.

He threatens the Saxons with destruction.

He shall invade your land with a mighty host, and ravage the whole with fire and sword, desolation and destruction. As the avenger (*vindex*) of the wrath of that God, whom ye ever provoke, he shall slay some of you with the sword, some he shall cause to waste away in poverty and want, some he shall destroy with the misery of a perpetual captivity, and your wives and children he will scatter far and wide as slaves and the residue of you he will reduce to a most ignominious subjection, that in you may be fulfilled what has long since been predicted, 'they were made few in number and were tormented with the tribulation and anguish of the wicked.'" [1]

Opposition provoked by his address.

It would be hard to conceive a bolder address or, we must add, one less likely to appeal to the untamed warriors to which it was addressed. To threaten them and their wives and children with destruction at the hands of their most hated foes, in order to induce them to accept the religion of their foes, was an act which was far from fulfilling the command given by Christ to His first missionaries to combine the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove. We are not surprised to read that the closing sentences of this missionary address were received by the audience with unrestrained anger. "Here is that seducer," they cried, "that enemy of our sacred rites and of our whole country; it is right that he should pay with his blood the penalty he has deserved." The speakers proceeded to pull up palings and to pick up stones in order to put their threats into execution, and it would have fared

[1] *Vita Lebuini.* Migne, *P. L.* cxxxii. col. 888 ff. The life was written by Hucbald of St. Amand (918-976).

Speech by Bruto.

badly with the missionary had it not been for the kindly intervention of an aged chief named Bruto, who, having obtained a hearing from the excited gathering, spoke thus:

"Ye that are prudent (*quicunque adestis cordati*), listen to my words. Many a time have ambassadors come to us from the Normans, the Slavs and the Frieslanders, whom, as is our custom, we have received in peace and to whose words we have listened diligently, and we have dismissed them to their homes loaded with presents. Behold now an ambassador of the supreme God who has announced to us words of life and of our salvation, hath not only been contemned and despised by us, but has been injured and almost deprived of life. That the God who sent him hither is great and powerful is plain from the fact that He has delivered His servant out of our hands. Be assured then that what he has threatened will certainly come to pass, and those judgments he has denounced will come upon us from a God who is so powerful." His intervention proved effective and the intrepid missionary was permitted to depart without further molestation.

Charlemagne's religious wars.

Charlemagne's campaigns against the Saxons which lasted for 32 years, from 772 to 804, were undertaken, according to his contemporary biographer, Eginhard, with the avowed object of exterminating heathenism and of converting the Saxons to the Christian faith. The Saxons, who occupied the whole of North Germany from the Baltic southwards along the borders of the Frankish kingdom, were divided into three principal tribes, but each separate clan was practically an independent unit, and the lack of any central authority

rendered it well-nigh impossible for Charlemagne to make treaties which would prove binding upon the Saxons as a single race. His so-called religious wars were carried on with a ferocity and barbarism which have seldom been surpassed. It is true that the Saxons respected neither sex nor age and massacred nearly all the inhabitants of the districts which they overran, but the Christian king was no whit behind them in ruthlessness and perfidy, and on one occasion he massacred in cold blood, at Verden on the R. Aller, four thousand Saxon warriors who had surrendered. It is satisfactory to read that he would not, as a rule, allow any clergy to accompany his expeditions and that he issued more than one edict prohibiting clergy from bearing arms. When, however, a campaign was over and the carnage was completed, he would send for clergy to baptize the survivors and to enrol them as members of the Christian Church.

Alcuin protests against compulsion,

Alcuin[1] and one or two others dared to protest against the policy of forcing heathen peoples to become nominal Christians, but without effect. Thus Alcuin wrote in a letter addressed to Charlemagne in 796 after the subjugation of the Huns :—

"Let your most wise and God-pleasing piety provide for the new people pious preachers, of honest life, learned in the knowledge of the holy faith."[2] In the same letter he urges that the adults amongst the conquered peoples should not be baptized till they have first been carefully taught, "lest the washing by holy baptism of

[1] Alcuin, after having been the head of the seminary at York, spent several years at the court of Charlemagne. He retired to Tours in 801 and died in 804.

[2] *Ep.* xxxiii. Migne, *P. L.* c. col. 188. See above, p. 302 f.

and against the exaction of tithes.

the body profit nothing." He protests too against the exaction of tithes from those who had but recently been made Christians.

In the same year (796) in a letter addressed to Megenfrid, one of the principal advisers of Charlemagne, Alcuin wrote :—

"If the easy yoke and the light burden of Christ had been preached to this most hard race, the Saxons, with as great insistence as the rendering of tithes was required and the legal penalties for the very smallest faults, it may be that they would not have abhorred the sacrament of baptism. (As to those who are sent to teach them) let them preach, not prey."[1]

A tenth-century collection of Alcuin's letters includes a report written by Paulinus the patriarch of Aquileia, which describes a discussion that took place at a meeting of bishops in 796 on the subject of the (forcible) baptism of the Huns.[2]

Eigilis on the conversion of the Saxons.

As a concrete instance of the way in which the conversion of the Saxons was effected by Charlemagne, we may quote a statement by Eigilis the biographer of Sturmi.

After consulting the clergy and summoning the abbot of Fulda to join him, Charlemagne assembled a great army and having invoked the name of Christ, set out for Saxony, "attended by a numerous retinue of priests, abbots and orthodox adherents of the true faith, in order to induce a nation, which from the beginning of the world had been tied and bound with the chains of demons, to believe the sacred doctrines and submit

[1] "sint prædicatores, non prædatores." *Ep.* xlii. Migne, *P. L.* c. col. 205.

[2] Bp. Browne, *Alcuin*, 288.

to the light and easy yoke of Christ. And on his arrival in their country, partly by war, partly by persuasion, partly also by gifts, he won over to a large extent that race to the faith, and shortly afterwards dividing the whole of that province into dioceses, he empowered the clergy to teach and baptize."[1] This campaign closed with the destruction of the celebrated Saxon idol the Irmin-Säule, near Eresburg on the R. Drimel. It was a lofty pillar, or the trunk of a gigantic tree, which had been consecrated by immemorial reverence. Irmin appears to have been the name of a national god or demi-god. If we can accept the statements of Meibom, who was a careful investigator of mediæval history and who wrote in the sixteenth century, the column, was of stone, and bore the figure of an imposing warrior girt with a sword. On his helmet stood a cock, on his breast was carved a bear and on his shield a lion. In his right hand he held a standard on which was painted a red rose, in his left hand was a balance. According to Rudolf of Fulda the Irmin-Säule was "the trunk of a tree of great size which the Saxons worshipped and which they regarded as supporting the world."[2]

Destruction of the Irmin-Säule idol.

The military part of the campaign having been successful, Sturmi was entrusted by Charlemagne with the spiritual oversight of the Saxons and, with the assistance of the monks at Fulda, he essayed the difficult

Missionary efforts of Sturmi.

[1] *Vita Sturmi*, by Eigilis. Migne, *P. L.* cv. col. 441 f. In another passage Eigilis describes the Saxons as "gens sæva et infestissima cunctis et paganis vitiis nimis dedita," and again as "gens præva et perversa a fide Christi devians."

[2] "patriâ eum linguâ Irminsul appellantes, quod Latine dicitur universalis columna quasi sustinens omnia." See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, ii. 283 n. See also Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, i. p. 224.

task of appealing to the consciences of those who had perforce accepted the profession of Christianity, and of inducing them to abandon the pagan rites and superstitions that had been handed down to them by their forefathers.

Rising of the Saxons, 778.

Before his labours had been productive of much result the Saxons rose again in arms (in 778) and advanced towards Fulda, resolved to destroy the monastery and to obliterate, if it might be, all traces of the religion to which they had become unwilling converts. Before, however, they had time to carry out their intention Charlemagne met them in battle.

Sturmi, who had hastily retired from Fulda on the approach of the Saxons, eventually returned to the monastery, but the sickness from which he had been suffering for some time previously having been aggravated by the anxiety through which he had passed, he died soon after his return.

Death of Sturmi, 779.

When he perceived that he was about to die, he ordered the monastery bells to be rung and the brothers to assemble, to whom he announced his approaching death, begging at the same time for their prayers. He then declared that he forgave all who had offended him, including his chief opponent Archbishop Lul, and promised his prayers on behalf of the brethren in response to their earnest request. He died on December 17, 779.

By the beginning of the ninth century the nominal conversion of the Saxons was practically completed. One reason why their conversion proved to be a much longer and more arduous task than was the conversion of the Franks, was that to the Saxons their ancestral

religion meant far more than it had ever done to their enemies. Their religion influenced their every act, and no decision was arrived at, and no journey undertaken, without consulting the omens that were supposed to reveal the will of the gods. Their long-continued practice of offering human beings in sacrifice testifies to the reality of their belief in the power of their gods, and when, after a protracted struggle, Christianity obtained an outward and visible triumph, pagan beliefs and pagan practices were for long intermixed with the teaching and observances of the Christian faith.[1]

Influence of paganism on the Saxons.

Wendland (Saxonia)

The Slavs first appear in European history under the name of Wends. Pliny (d. 79) says that among the peoples living on the other side of the Vistula beside the Sarmatians are the Wends (Venedi). Tacitus makes a similar statement.[2] In the sixth century the Wends reappear under the name of Slavs.[3] The original home of the Slavs in South-Eastern Europe was probably between the Vistula and the Dnieper.

The Wends.

Their original home.

From the times of Charlemagne repeated efforts were made to incorporate within the Frankish Empire and convert to the Christian faith the various Slavonian tribes who bore the name of Wends and who lived on the north and eastern borders of Germany, between the Elbe, the Oder and the Saale, but from a missionary point of view these attempts met with scant success.

[1] See Hauck's *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 405-8: "bildete sich der Volksaberglaube gleichsam eine mittlere Schicht zwischen dem Heidentum und der Christlichen Religion."

[2] *Ger.* 46.

[3] The Sorbs of Lusatia are still called Wends by the Germans.

First missionaries to the Wends.

Few of the missionaries made a serious attempt to master the Slavonian language and the foreign character of the Mission excited the prejudices of those to whom it was intended to appeal.

It was not till, as a result of repeated wars and insurrections, a great part of the population had been exterminated, that the Christian Church became established in their country.

Boso, "Apostle of the Wends."

Boso the first bishop of Merseburg (which is situated in the present province of Saxony) has been called the Apostle of the Wends. He was a Benedictine monk of St. Emmeram in Ratisbon, and was sent by Otto I in 936 to work as a missionary amongst the Wends. By making a careful study of their language and by preaching to them in their own tongue he endeavoured to overcome their prejudices against their German conquerors, and in 968 he was able to arrange for the formation of three sees, Merseburg, Meissen and Zeitz, of the first of which he became bishop, whilst Hugo was appointed bishop of Zeitz, and Burchard bishop of Meissen. These three missionary bishops were consecrated on Christmas Day 968 by Adalbert bishop of Magdeburg. After his consecration Boso continued his missionary labours, and died in 970 whilst visiting his native province of Bavaria. Inasmuch as the missionary enterprise was inextricably connected with the constantly changing political conditions of the country, the repeated efforts made by the Wends to expel their German conquerors reacted directly upon the success attained by the Christian missionaries. Each fresh rebellion was in fact coincident with an attempt to expel the missionaries and to obliterate

Three missionary bishops.

their work. In 983 a Slavonic chief named Mistewoi, who had become a Christian and was attached to the Emperor's court, roused by personal injuries which he had received, summoned his fellow-countrymen to meet at Rethre, which had been a centre of pagan worship, and having raised the standard of rebellion, proceeded to waste parts of Northern Germany with fire and sword and to destroy all the churches and monasteries. At a later period Gottschalk, a grandson of Mistewoi, who had received a Christian education at Lüneburg, exasperated at the murder of Udo his father, raised another rebellion and devastated the districts of Hamburg and Holstein.

Pagan reaction under Mistewoi.

After destroying many of the Christian churches he was eventually filled with remorse and vowed (1047) that he would try to atone for his evil conduct by endeavouring to propagate the Christian faith. He became the head of a Wendish kingdom, and secured from Bremen the services of many clergy whom he encouraged to act as teachers and missionaries. Gottschalk himself frequently addressed the congregations that gathered in church and translated for them into their own tongue the forms of the Latin liturgy which the missionaries used.[1] New churches or monasteries were built at Lubeck, Oldenburg, Ratzeburg, Lentzen and Mecklenburg (near Wismar). In the prosecution of his missionary activities he received constant encouragement from Adalbert (Albrecht), archbishop of Bremen, who sent out as missionaries many of those who had been trained under him at

Conversion of Gottschalk, 1047.

Missionaries sent by Adalbert.

[1] "ea quæ mystice ab episcopis et presbyteris dicebantur, Sclavonicis verbis cupiens reddere planiora." Adam Bremensis, cap. 138; and Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum*, i. 1, c. 20.

Bremen, or who had gathered round him, having been trained elsewhere.

Despite the success which attended the efforts of Gottschalk,[1] the heathen portion of the population, who had become incensed against him, partly on the ground that he had become a Christian, and partly on account of his alliances with Germany, rose in rebellion and attempted to stamp out once again the Christian faith. Gottschalk himself was murdered at Lentzen on June 9, 1066; the priest Ebbo (or Eppo) was sacrificed on the altar at Lentzen, and many of the missionaries and their converts suffered cruel tortures. A monk named Ansverus with several others was stoned to death near Ratzeburg. Before he was put to death he begged his murderers to stone his companions first, as he was fearful lest without his encouragement they might deny their faith. When they had died as martyrs he fell joyfully on his knees and met his death.

Murder of Gottschalk.

Amongst those who suffered in this rebellion was an Irishman, John, bishop of Mecklenburg, a devoted missionary whose labours had been attended with great success. The aged bishop was cruelly beaten and carried, exposed to the gaze of the populace, through the chief towns, and finally at Rethre, after he had refused to deny his faith in order to save his life, his hands and feet were cut off and he was beheaded. His body was then flung into the street and his head was fixed on a pole and carried in triumph to the temple of the god Radigost, where it was offered as an atonement for the contempt which had been shown to the

John, Bp. of Mecklenburg.

[1] Adam Bremensis refers to him as "noster Macchabæus." *Gesta*, cap. 166.

god.[1] On the death of Gottschalk a general revolt against the Germans took place and nearly all traces of Christianity were again obliterated. Cruko, the chief who succeeded Gottschalk, was a fanatical pagan and for forty years Christian missionary efforts were practically suspended. Cruko.

Adam of Bremen, referring to the difficulties which the avarice of their Saxon rulers placed in the way of the conversion of the Slavs in Saxony, quotes a remark which he had heard made by the king of Denmark:

"The Slav peoples might undoubtedly have been converted to Christianity had not the avarice of the Saxons stood in the way. Their thoughts were more directed towards the question of the payment of taxes than the conversion of the heathen. Nor do they, unhappy people, wait to consider how much danger they run by their cupidity,[2] who have first disturbed Christianity in Slavonia by their avarice, then by their cruelty have forced a subject race to rebel, and now show contempt for the salvation of those who might wish to believe, by doing nothing but exact money from them."[3] Cupidity of the Saxons.

In 1105 Henry, a son of Gottschalk who had taken refuge in Denmark, with the help of some Christian princes defeated the pagan Wends and became the ruler of the country. He endeavoured to reintroduce the Christian faith, but the disputes between his sons that occurred on his death in 1126 interfered with the work of the Christian missionaries.

[1] See *Gesta* Adami Bremensis, cap. 167. Migne, *P. L.* cxlvi. col. 596.

[2] "nec attendunt miseri quantum suæ cupiditatis luant periculum."

[3] Adam Bremensis, *Gesta*, 141.

Vicelin, missionary to the Wends.

In 1125 a missionary named Vicelin, who had been educated at Paderborn and afterwards for three years in France at the university of Paris, was ordained priest and, at his own request, was sent by the archbishop of Bremen to work amongst the Wends. He was joined by Rudolph a priest from Hildesheim and by Ludolf from Verden, and was welcomed by Henry, who assigned him a church at Lubeck. Before however any effective missionary work could be accomplished Henry died (1127) and Vicelin returned to the archbishop at Bremen. In the following year the inhabitants of the border town of Faldera (Neuminster) applied to the Archbishop to send them a priest and Vicelin took advantage of the opportunity of establishing a missionary centre from which he might hope to evangelize the districts to the north of the Elbe. The inhabitants of the district, who had in many cases previously been nominal Christians, had relapsed into idolatry and their temples and sacred groves had been re-established. His preaching here met with a considerable amount of success, and, as he travelled from place to place, he strove not only to win the people to a nominal profession of the Christian faith, but to lead them to repentance and to the practice of Christian virtues.

A missionary fraternity.

Moved by his example and influence a number of laymen and clergy formed themselves into a fraternity, vowing to devote their lives to prayer and good works and to labour for the conversion of the Wends. In 1134 the Emperor Lothaire II, who was visiting the province of Holstein, was much impressed with the results of their labours and encouraged them to persevere. By the advice of Vicelin the Emperor built

a fortress at Sigeberg in order to protect the country against risings of the Slavonians, and the new church which it included was committed to the charge of Vicelin, but on the death of Lothaire in 1147 the Wends rose in rebellion and again expelled the missionaries and destroyed all Christian buildings, whereupon Vicelin withdrew for a time to Faldera. Count Adolph of Holstein eventually succeeded in establishing his authority over the Wends and Vicelin's church at Sigeberg was restored to him. Soon afterwards he removed his monastery, which was practically a missionary college, to the neighbouring town of Högelsdorf, and his liberality to the people in that district during a severe famine did much to conciliate their goodwill. The rebellion having been finally suppressed, Vicelin was made bishop of Oldenburg in 1148 and laboured earnestly, despite many discouragements and disappointments, till his death on December 13, 1154. During the last two and a half years of his life he suffered greatly from paralytic strokes and could only influence his people by the example of the Christian patience with which his sufferings were endured.

Rebellion of the Wends, 1147.

Death of Vicelin, 1154.

In 1157 Albert the Bear, the Margrave of Brandenburg, who had twice before waged war with the Wends, organized a third expedition against them which ended in their almost complete extinction. The depopulated country he repeopled with agricultural colonists whom he brought from the Rhine and from Holland. With the influx of these Christian colonists missionary work in the country of the Wends ceased.

Massacre of the Wends, 1157.

At the beginning of the twelfth century the Slavonic population had practically ceased to exist and the

country was united ecclesiastically and politically to Germany.

Pomerania

Introduction of Christianity.

Pomerania was in early times inhabited by Celts, and later on by Teutons, but from the beginning of the sixth century these last had to a large extent been displaced by Slavs. The existence of Christianity in Pomerania dates from the conquest of the country to the east of the Oder by the Polish Duke Boleslav, at which time the conquered people were forced to receive the representatives of the Christian faith. Reinbern, who was appointed bishop of Colberg in 1000 A.D., was of German nationality, and being greatly disliked by the pagan inhabitants was able to do little towards their conversion. In 1015 he was murdered as he was on his way to Russia.

Bp. Reinbern.

For more than a century the inhabitants of Eastern Pomerania were in a state of constant warfare with their Polish neighbours, and though each successive invasion of their country was followed by the compulsory baptism of a section of the people, Christianity continued to be regarded as the religion of their conquerors and made little real progress amongst them. In 1121 the country to the west of the Oder was conquered by the Polish Duke Boleslav III, who resolved either to drive its inhabitants at the point of the sword to adopt the Christian religion, or as an alternative, to destroy them. He ravaged the whole country with fire and sword, and murdered so many of the people that three years afterwards the survivors could point to the heaps of bones which had remained

Forcible conversions, 1121.

unburied. Stettin, the capital, was taken, and eighteen thousand Pomeranian soldiers were put to death, whilst eight thousand of the people, together with their wives and children, were carried away to Poland, having first been compelled to renounce idolatry and to receive baptism.

The political conquest of the country having thus been accomplished, Boleslav endeavoured to find Christian missionaries to evangelize what was left of the population after the massacre or transportation of the rest. With this object he appealed to the Polish bishops, all of whom, however, declined to attempt so forlorn a hope. In 1122 a Spanish priest named Bernard, who had been consecrated as a bishop in Rome, came to Boleslav and asked to be allowed to go as a missionary to the Pomeranians.[1] He knew nothing of the language or of the customs or manners of the people whom he hoped to evangelize; nevertheless Boleslav, after warning him of the difficulties involved in the proposed undertaking, gave his consent. Accompanied by a chaplain and an interpreter, whom Boleslav supplied, Bernard approached the town of Julin in the island of Wollin, barefooted and dressed as a hermit. The inhabitants of Julin, accustomed to the rich dresses of their pagan priests, regarded him with unconcealed contempt, and, in reply to his assertion that he had come as the messenger of God, they asked how it was possible to believe that the Ruler of the whole earth would send as His messenger a poor man who had not even shoes for his feet. They told him further that,

The Spanish missionary, Bernard.

[1] The story of Bernard is not given by the contemporary and anonymous writer of the *Life of Otto*, but is told by Andreas, an abbot of Bamberg, 1483-1502.

if he desired to secure his safety, he should return at once to the place from which he came, and not discredit his God by pretending to be His messenger. Bernard, in reply, asked that a house should be set on fire and that he should be flung into the flames. "If," said he, "I come forth uninjured while the house is consumed, then believe that I am sent unto you by Him whom the fire and every other created thing obeys."[1] Soon afterwards, Bernard having destroyed a sacred image in Julin, the people forced him to go on board a vessel and to leave them. "As you have so great a desire to preach," they said, "preach to the fishes of the sea and the birds of the air."

He is expelled from Julin.

Mission of Otto, 1124.

Bernard eventually retired to Bamberg, the bishop of which was Otto[2] (Otho), a Suabian of noble family, and famous for his austere life and for his successful efforts to raise the standard of Christian life amongst the clergy and laity of his diocese. He related to the bishop his experiences, and besought him to make a further attempt to preach the Gospel in Pomerania. At the same time he urged him to avoid the mistake which he conceived himself to have made, and to go with a large retinue of assistants and servants, dressed in costly garments and with an abundant supply of food, in the hope that those "who had scorned to accept the yoke of humility might be awed by the

[1] Ebbo, *Vita Ottonis*, ii. 1.

[2] The authorities for the *Life of Otto* are (1) an anonymous monk who was a contemporary of Otto. This life was supposed at one time to have been compiled by Andreas, abbot of Bamberg, 1483-1502, but is now generally regarded as the oldest and most trustworthy life which exists; (2) *Dialogus de vita Ottonis*, by Herbordus, who was a student at Bamberg, 1158-9; (3) *Vita Ottonis*, by Ebbo, a monk at Bamberg. The writers of (2) and (3) apparently copied largely from (1). See also the *Acta Sanctorum* for July 2.

glory of riches and submit themselves." [1] The Duke Boleslav supported the appeal of Bernard and offered to pay all expenses and to provide an escort and interpreters. After obtaining from the Pope Calixtus II the appointment of Papal Legate, Otto collected a body of missionaries to accompany him, and set out on his missionary campaign on April 25, 1124.

His method of appeal.

It is interesting to note that although he adopted the method, which Xavier afterwards imitated, of appealing to those whom he desired to influence in favour of Christianity by a display of wealth and luxury, his own habits were ascetic, and his life was a model of self-denial. Several stories are told of his life at Bamberg which illustrate the statement. Thus, when on one occasion he received a valuable dress wrought with gold and silk from one who desired that he would wear it in remembrance of him, he replied, "I will preserve the precious gift so carefully that neither moth shall corrupt nor thieves steal it," and having said this, he called the man who superintended his wardrobe and said: "Take this beautiful covering which is dear to me and place it on that paralytic," pointing to a man who had long been ill, the odour arising from whose ulcers was a distress to all the neighbourhood." [2] The luxurious pomp which characterized his missionary activities in Pomerania was adopted by him for a definite purpose, and did not in any way represent the natural bent of his disposition.

Reception of his mission at Pyritz.

After visiting Duke Boleslav in Poland, Otto and his companions crossed the great forest which divided Poland from Pomerania, and after six days reached

[1] *Vita Ottonis*, ii. 2.

[2] Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, vol. iii. lib. 3. p. 90.

the River Netze, where the Pomeranian Duke Wratislav met them at the head of 500 soldiers. After conferring with Wratislav and obtaining his approval, they proceeded next day to the town of Pyritz (Pyrissa), passing through a district which had been depopulated by war. The thirty inhabitants who appeared to be the sole survivors in this district were asked if they were willing to be baptized, and as they gave their consent, the rite was administered to them forthwith. Reaching the outskirts of Pyritz a little before midnight they found that a pagan festival, accompanied by revelry and drunkenness, was in progress, and they accordingly waited for daylight before announcing their errand. When the morning came the envoys of the dukes of Poland and Pomerania entered the town and explained to the inhabitants that the bishop was waiting outside and was ready to receive their adhesion to the Christian faith. Their consent having been obtained, the missionary party, with their waggons and numerous train, entered the town, whereupon Otto addressed the people thus : " The blessing of the Lord be upon you. Blessed be ye of the Lord. We bless and thank you in the name of the Lord, because ye have refreshed our hearts by your grateful, kind, and loving reception. Doubtless ye have already heard what is the object of our coming, but it is becoming that ye should listen again and attend. For the sake of your salvation, your happiness, and your joy, we have come a long way. For ye will be safe and happy for evermore if ye be willing to acknowledge your Creator, and to serve Him." [1]

Seven days were occupied by the missionaries in giving

[1] Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, ii. c. 7.

further instruction, and a fast was appointed for the three following days, during which the people were urged to prepare themselves by frequent washing for the reception of baptism. Otto ordered that large vessels should be sunk in the ground so as to render possible baptism by immersion, the vessels being surrounded with curtains, and the water, when the weather was cold, being warmed. Those about to be baptized were first anointed with oil and were then led forward for baptism. Otto himself baptized the boys, whilst the other missionaries baptized the men and the women at separate baptisteries. For another ten days the missionaries remained at Pyritz engaged in instructing the newly made Christians in their duties and in the doctrines of the faith, the total number baptized during the twenty days being 7000. Before leaving them, Otto addressed them all through an interpreter, standing in an elevated place. His address, which is given at length by his biographer, affords an instructive example of the teaching given by a mediæval missionary to his converts. In the course of it he said:[1]

Baptisms at Pyritz.

Address by Otto.

"All ye my brethren have been baptized and have all put on Christ: ye have received from Him the forgiveness of all your sins original and actual: ye are clean and holy, having been cleansed and sanctified, not through any deed of ours, but by Him, for He has washed away the sins of the world in His blood. Beware then of all contamination by the worship of idols. . . . Put your trust in God who is the only Creator, and offer divine honour to no created thing,

[1] The address is given in Migne, *P. L.* vol. clxxiii., col. 1,355; also by Canisius, ii. c. 8.

. . . but rather seek to advance in faith, hope, and charity, that His blessing may come upon you and upon your children, and that, believing in Him and adorning your faith by your works, ye may have life in His name who has called you out of darkness into His marvellous light. For ye ought to be well assured and nowise doubt that if, by His help, ye endeavour to preserve to the end of your life the innocence and holiness in which ye have been placed to-day, ye will not only escape eternal death, but will possess for ever the joy of the celestial kingdom." In view of the problems raised by the practice of polygamy in many places in which missionaries are at work to-day it is interesting to note that, whilst insisting upon the practice of monogamy, he apparently did not make this a condition of baptism, and that in cases where a polygamist was willing to become a monogamist, he allowed him to decide which of his wives he would retain.

His attitude towards polygamy.

"If there is any of you," said Otto, "who before baptism had more than one wife, let him now select the wife he loves best, and, having dismissed the others, let him have her only, as becometh a christened man."

He then denounced the custom of infanticide, and ended by exhorting the people to respect the clergy whom he would leave with them.

From Pyritz the missionaries proceeded to Cammin, the residence of the legitimate wife of the Duke Wratislav, who was herself well disposed to the Christian faith. In consequence of her influence Otto found many of the inhabitants willing to accept baptism, and during the "nearly fifty days" which he spent

Baptisms at Cammin.

here the missionaries were busily engaged in teaching and baptizing. Although Otto himself only baptized boys,[1] leaving the baptism of men and of females to his associates, so great was the number of applicants that the bishop's garments became soaked in his sweat. Duke Wratislav, who arrived while Otto was at Cammin, swore upon the sacred relics, in the presence of the bishop and of the assembled people, that he would put away his twenty-four concubines and cleave to one wife. His example had a great influence upon his subjects, and many of his soldiers were also baptized and subsequently confirmed. A Christian church was then built, and one of the missionaries remained behind to serve it and to give further instruction to the converts. At Cammin the missionaries transferred their luggage to boats, and after navigating the inland rivers and lakes, arrived at Julin in the island of Wollin. Fearing the fury of the pagan population, his guides advised Otto to remain for a while concealed on the banks of the river, and when darkness came to slip into the town unperceived and take refuge in an enclosure which was recognized as a place of refuge, the inviolability of which would be respected by the inhabitants. In the morning, however, when their presence was discovered, the people surrounded the enclosure and threatened the missionaries with death if they did not immediately depart. Otto, who "hoped that he had been called to the crown of martyrdom," advanced with cheerful countenance, and endeavoured to speak to them, but he was knocked down and injured, and his life was only saved by the courage and strength

Hostile reception at Julin.

[1] "Licet solos mares pueros tingeret." *Vita*, lib. ii. c. 10.

of Paulitzky, who interposed his body between the bishop and his enemies. Beating a hasty retreat, and breaking down a bridge behind them, they reached their boats in safety. On reaching them Otto said to his companions, "Alas! we have been deprived of our expectation. The crown (of martyrdom) was in our hands, ye have snatched it away from us. May God forgive you, my sons and brothers." After they had waited for five days, some of the people of Julin, several of whom were secretly Christians, visited Otto and apologized for the violence of their fellow-countrymen, whereupon Otto expounded to them the Christian faith, and at the same time threatened them with the anger of the Polish duke under whose auspices he had come, and urged them to avoid this by becoming Christians. An assembly was accordingly summoned, and, after a long discussion, it was decided that the populace would wait to see whether the inhabitants of Stettin, the oldest and noblest city in their country, would accept Christianity, and that they would then follow their example. The missionaries accordingly proceeded to Stettin, and as at Julin, they availed themselves of the enclosure which was regarded as a place of refuge and protection. In the morning they explained why they had come, and attempted alternately to persuade and to frighten the people to accept the new religion. The people replied: "What have we to do with you? . . . Amongst the Christians are thieves and robbers who (for their misdeeds) are deprived of feet and eyes, and there are all kinds of crimes and punishments. One Christian execrates another Christian. Let such a religion be far from us." With these and other similar

Visit to Stettin.

excuses they refused to listen to the missionaries, and for the space of two months these made no way. It was then decided to send messengers to the duke of Poland to ask whether they should leave Stettin and return to him, and what was his will in regard to the people of Stettin who had refused to accept the Christian faith. When the inhabitants of Stettin heard of the sending of this embassy they feared its possible outcome, and sent a message themselves to the duke stating their willingness to accept Christianity provided that he would diminish their tribute and grant them a permanent peace. Whilst waiting for the return of his messengers, Otto strove by peaceful means to win over the inhabitants of Stettin to the Christian faith. On the market days, which occurred twice a week, when many of the country people from outside visited the town, Otto appeared, dressed in priestly robes and with a cross borne in front of him, and strove to explain to the crowds who gathered round him the doctrines of Christianity. By doing so he risked his life, but "God protected him," and neither he nor his companions suffered any narm.[1]

Appeal to the duke of Poland.

The baptism of the two sons of one of the most influential residents in Stettin did much to increase the bishop's influence. They came to him again and again asking to be instructed concerning the faith: the bishop spoke to them of the purity of Christianity, of the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and of the hope and glory of eternal life, and ere long they expressed a desire to receive baptism. After they

Baptism of two youths at Stettin.

[1] "Jugulum neci quodammodo cottidie aptaverunt, sed Deo protegente læsi non sunt."

had received further instruction they were washed and baptized and arrayed in white robes, and for eight days they stayed with the bishop without returning to their home, their father being away from home at the time. On receipt of a message from their mother that she was coming to see him and her sons, the bishop took his seat on a bank in the open air surrounded by the other missionaries, and with the two youths arrayed in white garments below him. On the approach of their mother her sons rose to meet her, whereupon she fell fainting to the ground, overcome, as the spectators imagined, with grief that her sons had become Christians. When, however, the bishop and his companions raised her up she exclaimed to the amazed spectators: "I thank Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, Thou source of all hope and of all consolation, that I behold my sons initiated into Thy sacraments, and enlightened by the faith in Thy truth, for Thou knowest, Lord Jesus Christ, that for many years I have not ceased in the secret recesses of my heart to recommend these youths to Thy compassion, beseeching Thee to do in them that which Thou now hast done." Then turning to the bishop, she said: "Blessed be (the day of) thy coming to this city, most reverend father, for if thou wilt but persevere, much people shall here be gained for the Lord, let not delay cause thee to become weary: behold I myself, who stand here before you, do by the aid of Almighty God, encouraged by your presence, reverend father, but throwing myself on the help of these my children (*pignorum*), confess that I am a Christian, a truth which till now I dared not openly acknowledge."

She then related how as a girl she had been carried

away from a Christian land and had been given as a wife to a rich and noble man by whom she had had these two sons. Her confession was soon afterwards followed by the baptism of the members of her household and of many of her neighbours. Further baptisms.

The two youths were filled with missionary enthusiasm, and pleaded with their fellow-countrymen that a religion which resulted in the emancipation of slaves and in the other beneficent deeds which distinguished the conduct of the missionaries, must be true and deserving of acceptance. Their father, on his return home, was sorely grieved[1] at the conversion of his wife and household to the Christian faith, but ere long, influenced by the prayers and example of his wife, he too became a Christian.

Soon afterwards a letter was received from the duke of Poland in reply to the embassage which had been sent to him. In his letter, in which he described himself as "the enemy of all pagans," he said that if the inhabitants embraced Christianity they might look for peace and a decrease of tribute, but that otherwise their land would be laid waste with fire and sword, and his relation to them would become one of "eternal enmity." On receipt of the letter Otto proposed to the assembled people that, inasmuch as the worship of the true God could not be combined with that of idols, they should proceed to destroy the temples of the false gods. When they hung back, moved by superstitious fears, Otto and his assistants armed with hatchets and pickaxes, and having obtained their reluctant consent, proceeded to carry out the work of destruction. Letter from the duke of Poland. Destruction of temples at Stettin.

[1] "Mori voluit præ dolore."

The first temple to be attacked was that of the Slavic god Triglav, or Triglaus, *i.e.* the three-headed, which contained an image of the god and was decorated with sculptures and paintings. As it had been the custom to dedicate to this god a tenth part of all the spoils taken in war, its temple contained much treasure. The bishop having sprinkled the spoils with holy water and having made the sign of the Cross, distributed them amongst the people. The heads of Triglav he afterwards sent to Rome. A sacred oak,[1] which was valued for its shade, the bishop allowed to remain, but he insisted that a horse which was used for purposes of divination should be sent out of the country and sold. After the destruction of all heathen emblems a large number of the people were baptized. Otto's biographer refers to the change in the countenances of those who had been baptized, which soon made it easy even for the heathen to distinguish the Christians from those who had not been converted: a change similar to that which has often been noted by missionaries in the Christian villages of South India and elsewhere. He writes: "On the faces of all who had been baptized there shone happiness and the brightness of spiritual grace, so that those who had been baptized could be distinguished from those who had not been baptized, even as light from darkness." [2]

Triglav.

Changes effected by baptism.

After a stay of five months and the erection of a Christian church in the middle of the market-place,

[1] The oak was regarded as specially sacred to Perun, the god of thunder. See *La Mythologie Slave*, par M. L. Leger, p. 74.

[2] "In vultibus scilicet omnium baptizatorum quendam jucundum et spiritualis gratiæ rutilare fulgorem, ita ut baptizati a non baptizatis, velut lux a tenebris, facile discerni possent." *Vita*, ii. 24.

the bishop left Stettin and, descending the River Oder, crossed the sea to Julin, in the island of Wollin. Its inhabitants, who had previously opposed the bishop's mission, had become friendly and were eager to welcome him, as a result of the news which had reached them from Stettin. During the two months that the bishop and his companions spent in Julin they were busily occupied in teaching and baptizing the large number of the inhabitants who desired to become Christians.[1]

Visit to Clonoda.

He next went to a place called Clonoda (or Clodona), the neighbourhood of which had recently been devastated by the duke of Poland, and then visited Colberg (Colbrega), many of the inhabitants of which were at the time absent on voyages. He baptized many both here and at Bielgrad, which was distant one day's journey from Colberg, and then turned back in the hope of reaching his own city of Bamberg before Easter.[2]

Otto administers confirmation.

Before leaving Pomerania to return home, he revisited the churches that he had helped to found, in order to administer confirmation to those who had been baptized, and to baptize those who had been away from their homes on the occasion of his previous visits. He was also able to consecrate several Christian churches, the building of which had been completed.[3] The Christians throughout Pomerania entreated Otto to remain with them and be their bishop, and his biographer states that had it not been for the dissuasion

[1] "Tota civitas et provincia cum populo suo apposita est ad Deum, tantaque fuit multitudo virorum et mulierum et utriusque sexus puerorum ut in spatio duorum mensium quamvis sine cessatione ageretur opus, vix omnes tingi potuissent." *Vita*, ii. 25.

[2] "Redire ad suam sedem consecraturus crisma." *Vita*, ii. 27.

[3] The number of baptized Christians in Pomerania at this time was about 22,000, and the number of churches eleven. See Hauck's *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, iv. 600 n.

of the clergy, his companions, he would have yielded to his own inclination and would have complied with their request. On his journey home he passed through Poland and arranged with the Duke Boleslav for the consecration of Adalbert, one of the missionaries who had accompanied him on his tour, to be the first bishop of Julin. The missionaries whom Otto left behind him in Pomerania were few in number and were, moreover, too deficient in wisdom and zeal to consolidate the work that had been begun, and during the next three years that he spent in Bamberg very little progress was achieved. When he left to return home Christianity had been introduced into one half of Pomerania, whilst the other half remained heathen, and as those who had become Christians from political rather than from religious motives came into contact with their heathen neighbours, the few missionaries who had been left in their country found it hard to prevent the spread of a reaction in favour of their ancestral customs.

His return to Bamberg.

Slow progress of missionary work.

In the spring of 1127 Otto set out to revisit Pomerania. Passing through Saxony he descended the River Elbe for some distance and travelled overland as far as Demmin (Timina), a town which was still heathen.

Otto revisits Pomerania, 1127.

On this second expedition he defrayed all his personal expenses and those of his companions, and with this object in view he purchased a quantity of grain and other merchandise at Halle, which was conveyed by boat down the Elbe and afterwards transferred to fifty waggons to be carried overland to Demmin. Here he met Duke Wratislav (Frocislaus), who was returning from a campaign against the Leuticians,

and was accompanied by a large number of captives whom he had reduced to a condition of slavery. The bishop entreated the duke to exercise Christian compassion and not to separate wives from their husbands or young children from their parents. He himself bought some of those who were pagans, and, having instructed them in the Christian faith, sent them back to their homes.

Liberation of slaves.

From Demmin Otto proceeded to Usedom (Unznoimia), a three days' march, where he met Duke Wratislav, who, at his suggestion, agreed that at the approaching Whitsuntide a diet or assembly should be held at Usedom in order to induce the various States in Pomerania to establish the Christian Church throughout the whole country.

Diet at Usedom.

When the assembly met, Wratislav himself spoke and urged those present to abandon idolatry and to be baptized as Christians. Presenting Otto to them, he drew their attention to the fact that although he was of noble birth and a rich man, and possessed of gold, silver, and lands, and "all that the world calls precious," he had left his life of ease and honour in order to benefit the peoples of Pomerania. He urged, too, that as his motives could not be impugned, he was deserving of an attentive hearing and of credit: they had refused to listen to the missionaries who had come to them before on the ground that they were poor: let them listen then to those who were rich.[1] The bishop in the course of his address spoke of the divine mercy, of the forgiveness of sins, and of the gift of the Holy Spirit. His words were productive of immediate

Wratislav urges the adoption of Christianity.

[1] "Noluistis audire mendicos evangelistas, audite opulentos."

Many baptisms.

results, and some who had abandoned their profession of Christianity professed repentance, and many others, together with all the chiefs and their attendants, were baptized. Otto stayed altogether a week in Usedom, and when he left to prosecute his missionary labours elsewhere, he adopted the plan of sending his clergy two by two into the towns and villages which he proposed himself to visit. Two missionaries, named Ulric and Albin, were accordingly sent to the town of Wolgast (Hologosta), where they were welcomed by the wife of the burgomaster. When, however, they told her the object of their visit she explained to them the danger which threatened them owing to the fanaticism of the people. After concealing them in the top of her house and sending their baggage away, she endeavoured to divert the suspicion which their appearance in the city had already excited, sending meanwhile to acquaint Otto with the peril which they had incurred. The hostility of the people of Wolgast on this occasion was largely due to a stratagem which one of the heathen priests had played in order to prevent missionary work being started in his city. Dressing himself in white robes he hid in the forest near by and showed himself in the early dawn to a passing peasant, to whom he declared that he was the chief of their national gods. "I am thy god," he said, "I am he that clothes the fields with grass and the woods with leaves; without me the fruit tree cannot yield its fruit, nor the field its corn, nor the cattle their increase: these blessings I bestow on my worshippers, and from those that despise me I take them away. Tell the people of Wolgast, therefore, that they accept not any

Ulric and Albin at Wolgast.

A heathen stratagem.

other god who cannot profit them, and warn them that they suffer not to live the representatives of another religion, who, as I predict, will come to their town." [1] The priest then vanished in the darkness of the forest, but soon afterwards appeared in Wolgast, where the peasant had already begun to tell his tale. By pretending at first to disbelieve him and by skilful questioning, he caused the peasant to tell the story over and over again to fresh groups of hearers, who spread it far and wide and helped to raise a flame of fanaticism against the new religion and any who might attempt to introduce it. Turning to the people the priest said: "This is what I have been telling you for a whole year. What have we to do with a strange god? What have we to do with the religion of the Christians? Our god is justly angry, inasmuch as after all his benefits bestowed upon us we turn ungratefully to another."

On hearing of the dangers which threatened his two missionaries, Otto, accompanied by the duke and several chiefs and an escort of soldiers, hastened to their rescue, and soon ensured their safety. Fear now gave place to an undue feeling of security, and one of the clergy, named Encodric, who had tried to enter one of the idol temples, hardly escaped with his life. He had already placed his hand on the door of the temple when the pagans rushed upon him, whereupon, terrified, and seeing no means of escape, he rushed into the innermost recess of the temple and took up a large shield that was embossed with gold, and was dedicated to Gerovit (Gerovitus), the god of war. The shield was regarded as sacred, and was supposed to render the

Encodric.

[1] *Vita*, iii. 4.

person of anyone who carried it inviolable; when, therefore, the crowd who were preparing to murder him, discerned what he was carrying, they were aghast at his daring, and some fell to the ground as though dead, whilst others took refuge in flight, Encodric meanwhile being enabled to rejoin his companions in safety. Otto remained at Wolgast till all the heathen temples had been destroyed, and a church had begun to be built, to preside over which he ordained as priest a man named John. The next place visited by him was Gutzkow (Gozgangia), the magnificent temple in which the pagans besought him to spare and, if he wished, to convert it into a Christian church. Otto, however, feared that if this were done a reaction in favour of paganism might occur after his departure, and he accordingly insisted on its destruction. "Would you think," he said, "of sowing your grain among thorns and thistles? No, you would first pluck up the weeds, that when the good seed is sown in your fields you may be able to obtain the crops which ye desire. So I must first utterly destroy from the midst of you this seed of idolatry and this thorn to my preaching, in order that the good seed of the Gospel may bring forth fruit in your hearts to eternal life."[1] The objections of the people were at length overcome, and with their own hands they destroyed the temple and its idols. In its place he designed a Christian church, which by its splendour and magnificence might outshine the temple that had been destroyed. When part of it had been completed he endeavoured to make the festival of its consecration one which should eclipse

Destruction of temple at Gutzkow.

Consecration of a church.

[1] *Vita*, iii. 7.

in the popular imagination any of their pagan festivals, and to the chiefs and their followers who had assembled for this purpose he endeavoured to explain the symbolism of the service, at the same time warning them that Christianity meant more than mere outward forms. He urged upon them, moreover, that the true meaning of the consecration of a church had reference to the consecration of God's temple in the soul of every believer, since Christ dwells by faith in the heart of the believer. Then turning to Mitzlav, the Governor of the district, he said, "Thou art the true house of God, my beloved son. Thou art this day to be consecrated and dedicated, consecrated to God thy almighty Creator, so that, separated from every foreign master, thou mayest become exclusively His dwelling-place and His possession: therefore my beloved son do not hinder thy consecration, for it is of little avail that the house thou seest before thee should be outwardly consecrated, should a like consecration not be made in thy own soul[1] also." The bishop went on to urge upon Mitzlav that he should abandon all deeds of violence and fraud, and ended by demanding of him that he should forthwith set free all persons whom he had confined in prison in order to extract from them the payment of debts. After some demur Mitzlav, "sighing deeply," exclaimed: "I do here in the name of the Lord Jesus give them all their liberty, that so according to your words my sins may be forgiven and the consecration of which you spoke may be completed in me this day." It eventually transpired that Mitzlav had excepted from the number of those set at liberty the son of a Dacian nobleman

Mitzlav sets free his prisoners.

[1] *Vita*, iii. 9 "In me" should apparently be "in te."

who owed him five hundred pounds of gold, but he too was eventually set at liberty, and, laden with fetters as he was, he was brought forth from his cell, and in the presence of a large congregation, which was bathed in tears, was led to the altar of the newly erected church, where his freedom was formally granted to him by Mitzlav. The duke's example was productive of much result, and many deeds of self-denial were performed by the newly made Christians.

Otto intercedes with the duke of Poland.

Soon after this Otto increased his influence with the people by his successful efforts to ward off an invasion that the duke of Poland was preparing to make at the head of a large army. Otto and his clergy met the duke, who was advancing with his troops, and, by assuring him of the fidelity of Wratislav and the loyalty of his subjects, appeased his anger and induced him to desist from the threatened invasion. His biographer writes of him that whereas his popularity tended ever to increase, "he himself attributed nothing to his own merits, but showed himself the more humble before God and men, as he knew that without His aid he could do nothing."[1]

Island of Rugen.

About this time Otto determined to attempt the conversion of the inhabitants of Rugen (Verania), a large island, distant about a day's journey from Usedom, which was a stronghold of paganism and had never admitted a Christian missionary. As any attempt to land on the island seemed likely to involve instant death, the duke and Otto's companions besought him to abandon his intention, and this, despite the fact that he had "hoped to obtain there the crown

[1] *Vita*, iii. 9.

of martyrdom," he was reluctantly constrained to do.[1]

In order to extend the sphere of his missionary labours Otto desired to send the clergy who had accompanied him to different parts of Pomerania, but they lacked the courage and enthusiasm of their leader and were afraid to expose themselves to the hostility of the pagans when unaccompanied by him. When he himself announced his purpose of revisiting Stettin, where a heathen reaction had taken place, they refused to accompany him. Otto accordingly, after spending a day in solitude and prayer, resolved to proceed alone, and, taking with him his service book and sacramental chalice, he stole away in the dark. When his clergy came to call him in the morning and found that he had gone, they were struck with a sense of shame, and hurrying after him, some on foot and some on horseback, they prostrated themselves at his feet and entreated him to return with them, promising that they would accompany him on the following day. On reaching Stettin he found that the pagan priests had regained much of their lost influence, a pestilence which had broken out having been interpreted as a sign that the gods were angry at the conversion of the people to Christianity. An assault on one of the Christian churches failed of its purpose owing to the sudden illness which befell one of the ringleaders of the attack, who was a relapsed Christian. On his recovery he persuaded his fellow-townsmen to spare the church, but to erect a pagan altar by its side, so that they might secure the joint protection of the Christian and heathen deities.

Stettin revisited.

Pagan reaction at Stettin.

[1] See above, p. 405 f.

Soon after this, whilst the frenzy of the pagans against the Christians was still at its height, Otto and his party reached the gates of the city. On his arrival he entered one of the Christian churches, but as soon as his presence became known, armed men, led on by the pagan priests, gathered round, bent upon the immediate destruction of the church and its occupants. Otto had never been in greater danger, but his courage did not fail. After commending himself and his companions to God in prayer, he walked forth, dressed in his bishop's robes and surrounded by his clergy, who carried a cross and relics, and chanted psalms and hymns. His courage and the calmness and dignity of his action amazed and overawed the pagans, and when a lull in the tumult occurred some of those who were favourably disposed towards the Christians intervened and urged that the priests should defend their cause with arguments rather than by violence. Amongst their number was a chief named Witstack (Vitstacus), whom Otto had previously baptized, and who, after being taken prisoner in an expedition against the Danes, had obtained his release, in answer, as he believed, to prayer addressed to the Christians' God. On Sunday, two days after the attack on the church, Otto, accompanied by Witstack, went to the market place and there addressed an assembly of the people. At the end of his address a heathen priest blew a trumpet and called upon the people to take vengeance on the enemy of their national gods. Lances were poised, and the crowd seemed about to carry their threats into execution, when once again the undaunted behaviour of the bishop overawed his enemies and they suffered him to depart in

Intervention of Witstack.

peace. On the following day the people assembled in order to decide upon their action in the matter of religion, and, after a debate, which lasted from early morning till midnight, a decision was reached that Christianity should be accepted as the true religion and all traces of idolatry should be destroyed. Otto soon afterwards received back those who had apostatized and baptized many others.

Revisits Julin.

From Stettin he proceeded to Julin, where he consolidated the work that had been accomplished, and, before returning to Bamberg, in 1128, he visited the other churches which he had helped to establish in Pomerania. At this time he expressed a great desire to evangelize the Ruthenians who were fanatical heathen, but was unable to accomplish his desire. On one occasion after his return to Bamberg, having learnt that a number of Pomeranian Christians had been taken captive by pagans, he ordered a quantity of cloth to be purchased at Halle and sent to Pomerania to be used as a ransom for the captives. He continued to show an active interest in the Missions which he had helped to establish till his death on June 30, 1139.[1]

Death of Otto, 1139.

Results of his work.

Judged by the visible results which accompanied his work, Otto was the most successful missionary in mediæval times, and his success was the more remarkable in view of the fact that he was never able to speak to the Pomeranians in their own language, but had to rely upon the services of interpreters. It is true that

[1] His biographer writes concerning his death: "Flebat civitas universa, juvenes et virgines, senes cum junioribus, flebat omnis ordo, flebat omnis religio, divites et pauperes, nobiles et mediocres cum plebe rusticana omnes patrem ademptum lugebant amarius quanto ab omnibus illis carius ipse amabatur."

he had recourse to material force or to the threats of its use, but he always preferred to rely upon gentler influences, and never hesitated to run any personal risk in order to win the confidence and the affection of the people whom he passionately desired to help. To his faith and courage and his constant reliance upon the power of prayer more than to any political influences the results which he achieved must be attributed.

His failure to establish a national Church.

His failure to arrange for the training of any Pomeranian clergy, and the recourse which he was accordingly obliged to have to German clergy, who in customs, dispositions, and language differed widely from those to whom they ministered, rendered it impossible for the Church which he helped to establish to become the Church of the people. Moreover, the German colonists who, in ever-increasing numbers, were brought into the country to repeople the districts which had been devastated by war, tended to make the earlier inhabitants less well disposed to the German clergy, whose nationality was that of their oppressors.

Forcible conversion of Rugen Island.

The island of Rugen, which lay off the coast of Pomerania, was inhabited by Slavonic pagans who were fanatically addicted to idolatry and opposed to the introduction of Christianity. Whilst Otto was engaged in preaching in Pomerania about 1127 he announced his intention of visiting the island and was, as we have already seen, with difficulty dissuaded from doing so by his companions, who feared for his safety. Ulric, one of his clergy, actually set sail for Rugen but was driven back by a storm. In 1168 Waldemar, King of Denmark, assisted by the chiefs of Pomerania, after a series of battles succeeded in subjugating the

island, and a militant bishop named Absalom of Roeskilde[1] undertook the forcible conversion of its inhabitants to the Christian faith.

He entered into an agreement with the inhabitants of the capital, Arcona, by which they bound themselves to accept Christianity and to hand over to Christian clergy the landed estates which belonged to the idol temples. Their chief idol Svantovit was regarded with the utmost awe by the inhabitants, and a vast crowd gathered round the men whom Absalom sent to effect its destruction, anticipating their sudden death. Even when it had fallen to the ground after its feet had been cut away with axes, the people of Rugen were afraid to touch it and the services of captives and of strangers who were staying in Arcona were requisitioned in order to drag the idol into the Danish camp. Its progress to the camp was accomplished amid the mingled lamentations and jeers of the onlookers. On reaching the camp it was chopped up to form firewood for cooking the food of the soldiers.[2] A similar fate befell other idols in Arcona and else-

Destruction of the idol Svantovit.

[1] Saxo Grammaticus, who undertook the writing of his history at the suggestion of Absalom, speaks of him as "militiæ et religionis sociato fulgore conspicuus." Again he writes concerning him, "neque enim minus sacrorum attinet cultui, publice religionis hostes repellere, quam cæremoniarum tutelæ vacare," lib. xiv.

[2] For an account of the worship of Svantovit see *Gesta Danorum*, by Saxo Grammaticus, lib. i.; *Chronica Thietmari*, lib. vi.; *Chronicon Slavorum*, by Helmhold, lib. i. 52, 53; ii. 12; also *La Mythologie Slave*, par L. Leger, pp. 76-107. Both Helmhold and Saxo Grammaticus explain the name Svantovit as equivalent to Saint Vit (Sanctus Vitus), and suggest that the name originated in the ninth century, when monks from Corvey, the patron saint of which was St. Vit, attempted to preach the Christian faith in Rugen. It is more probable that the veneration of St. Vit was introduced in later times in the hope that it might supplant the worship of Svantovit, the change being facilitated by the similarity of sound of the two names. Svantovit probably means "sacred oracle."

where. Amongst the idols destroyed by Absalom were three which had respectively seven, five, and four heads.

Building of Christian churches.

A number of Christian churches were forthwith built, which were served by clergy whom Absalom sent over from Denmark, and for whose support he himself provided. Several miracles of healing were attributed to the effects produced by their prayers, but the Danish historian is careful to tell us that these cures were not to be attributed to the sanctity of the missionaries, but were granted by God in order to facilitate the conversion of the people.[1]

After the Danish conquest the profession of Christianity spread throughout the island and efforts were made by the clergy who came from Denmark to instruct the people in the faith which they had been induced to accept.

Prussia

The Slavs in Prussia.

At the close of the tenth century, when the first attempts were made to introduce Christianity into Prussia, the population, which was for the most part of Slavonic origin, included only a small number of Germans. The country was at this time divided into eleven practically independent states, the inhabitants of which were fanatical idolaters, and in every town and village a temple was to be found. Their chief gods were Percunos,[2] the god of thunder, Potrimpos, the god of corn and fruits, and Picullos, the god of the

Their chief gods.

[1] See Saxo Grammaticus, *id.*: "quod potius lucrandæ gentis respectui quam sacerdotum sanctitati divinitus concessum videri potest."

[2] *i.e.* the Russian Perun.

lower regions. Peter de Duisburg, the author of the *Chronicon Prussiæ*, writes: "They worshipped as a god every creature, whether it were the sun, the moon, the stars, or thunder, as well as birds, quadrupeds, and toads. They had also groves, plains, and sacred waters, and in these none dared to cut wood, to cultivate fields, or to fish."[1] Every man was allowed to have three wives, who were regarded as slaves, and were expected to commit suicide on the death of their husband. On the death of the chiefs, or nobles, their slaves, maid-servants, horses, hunting dogs, hawks, and armour were burnt together with the body.[2] It can easily be understood that the fierceness and cruelty of the Prussians made the task of the pioneer missionaries one of no ordinary hazard.

Adalbert of Prague, 997.

The first missionary who attempted to preach the Gospel in Prussia was Adalbert, archbishop of Prague. After working in Bohemia for several years he visited Boleslav I, the duke of Poland, in the hope of developing missionary work in his country, but he eventually determined to go as a pioneer missionary to Prussia. Having received from the duke a vessel and thirty soldiers to act as bodyguard, he sailed to Dantzic (Gedania), on the borders of Prussia and Poland, in 997. After baptizing a number of its inhabitants he set sail again, and, having landed on the opposite coast, he sent back the vessel and his bodyguard, and, accompanied only by two priests, named Benedict and Gaudentius, he disembarked on a small island at the mouth of the River Pregel. Driven away by its inhabitants, he and his companions landed on the

[1] *Chronicon*, p. 79.

[2] *Chronicon*, p. 80.

coast of Samland on the other side of the Pregel. Having been refused a hearing by the inhabitants of this district, they began to retrace their steps, and after five or six days passed through woods, the dreariness of which they enlightened by singing spiritual songs, till at length they came to open fields. Here, after they had celebrated the Holy Communion, they lay down on the grass and presently fell into a deep sleep, from which they were roused by a tumultuous band of heathen, who seized and bound them. "Be not troubled, my brethren," said Adalbert to his two companions, "we know for whose name we suffer. What is there more glorious than to give up life for our precious Jesus?" Thereupon a heathen priest named Siggo plunged a lance into his body, and with his eyes fixed on heaven Adalbert yielded up his life. The date of his death was April 23, 997.

His martyrdom in Samland.

Bruno of Querfurt martyred, 1008.

The next missionary to preach to the Prussians was Bruno of Querfurt, who was surnamed Bonifacius. He had been a court chaplain to Otto III, and it was apparently a picture of the English Boniface that he saw in Rome which led him to resolve to withdraw from the court and devote himself to the work of a missionary. Having become a monk of the Order of St. Benedict, he obtained from Pope Sylvester II a commission to preach the Gospel to the heathen, and, with this end in view, the Pope consecrated him and bestowed upon him the pall of an archbishop. He started for Prussia in 1007 with eighteen companions, but all suffered martyrdom on February 14, 1008.

Bishop Heinrich of Olmutz, 1141.

For more than a century no further efforts were made to evangelize Prussia, but in 1141 Bishop Heinrich of

Olmutz made another attempt, which was, however, unproductive of result. Nothing more was done till 1207, when Gottfried, whose name suggests a German origin, and who was abbot of Lukina in Poland, sailed down the River Vistula (Weichsel), accompanied by a monk named Philip and some other Cistercian monks, and succeeded in winning over to the Christian faith two chiefs named Phalet and Sodrach. The murder of Philip interrupted the work for a time, but in 1210 Christian, a native of Freienwalde in Pomerania, who had been a Cistercian monk at the monastery of Oliva, near Dantzic,[1] after obtaining the approval of Innocent III[2] and the help of several other monks, restarted the Mission. Having met with a considerable amount of encouragement he was nominated as bishop of Prussia in 1212, and in 1215 he visited Rome, attended by two Prussian chiefs, in order to report his success to Pope Innocent, and was then consecrated as bishop. The Pope expressed much interest in the Mission, and when Christian returned to Prussia he wrote a letter urging the dukes of Pomerania and Poland not to turn the spread of Christianity in Prussia into a means for oppressing the Prussians. "We beseech and exhort you," he wrote, "for the sake of Him who came to save the lost and to give His life a ransom for many, do not oppress the sons of this new plantation, but treat them with the more gentleness, as they are liable

Gottfried, 1207.

Bishop Christian.

Letter from Pope Innocent.

[1] According to another authority he had been monk at Lukina.

[2] In a letter to the archbishop of Gnesen (1210) the Pope writes, "Ad partes Prussiæ de nostra licentia accesserunt," and in a letter commending the Mission to the Cistercian monks (1212) he writes, "Olim de nostra licentia inceperunt seminare in partibus Prussiæ verbum Dei." See Migne, *P. L.*, ccxvi., col. 316, 669. Epp. 128, 147.

to be misled and to relapse into paganism, since the old bottles can scarcely hold the new wine."[1] Christian returned to Prussia, accompanied by two Prussian chiefs, Warpoda and Suawabona, who had been baptized in Rome; but soon after his return a reaction against the Christian missionaries occurred. Moved, partly by a dislike for Christianity, but chiefly by their repugnance to submit to the exactions of the Christian chiefs of Poland and Pomerania, the Prussians rose in force and destroyed nearly three hundred Christian churches and chapels and massacred many Christians.[2]

Massacre of Christians.

Knights Brethren of Dobrin, 1219.

Bishop Christian then, despairing of effecting the conversion of Prussia by peaceful means, resolved to follow the example set by Bishop Albert in Livonia, and accordingly he founded the Order of the Knights Brethren of Dobrin, whose constitution was similar to that of the Order of the Sword. With their help he endeavoured (1219) to compel the Prussians to accept the Christian faith. Their aid proved, however, to be insufficient for the task, and Bishop Christian was forced to look elsewhere for helpers. In 1189 there had come into existence before the town of Acre an "Order of Teutonic Knights," whose object was to succour German pilgrims or crusaders in the Holy Land. In 1238 this Order was united to the "Order of the Sword," and the union was solemnized at Rome in the presence of the Pope. The United Order undertook to subjugate the Prussians, and for nearly fifty years they carried on a remorseless war against them. Little by little they overran the country, building

Order of Teutonic Knights.

[1] *Ep.* 148.

[2] *Chronicon*, p. ii. c. 1.

castles at Culm, Thorn, Marienwerder, Elbing and elsewhere, in order to maintain their conquests. Baptism was made the condition of enjoying any kind of civil rights, and those who refused to be baptized were regarded and treated as slaves. In 1233 Bishop Christian was captured by the heathen and held as a prisoner for several years until a ransom had been paid. In 1243 the Pope created the bishoprics of Culm, Pomerania, Ermeland, and Samland, each of these districts being again divided into three parts, one part of which was subjected to the bishop, whilst the other two parts were held by the brethren of the Order.[1] As churches and monasteries were built throughout the country, sacrifices to idols, infanticide, polygamy, and the burning of the dead were gradually discontinued. The Pope from time to time impressed upon the knights the duty of treating the people with kindness and upon the clergy the duty of giving careful instruction to those under their care. In 1251 schools began to be built, and Dominican friars[2] endeavoured to give to the people an intelligent knowledge of the faith which they had been compelled to accept. In 1260 the knights suffered defeat at the hands of the Lithuanians, who burnt eight of them alive in honour of their gods, whereupon the Prussians rose again in revolt and murdered many of the clergy and destroyed their churches and monasteries. It was not till 1283 that the knights, aided by other soldiers whom the Pope summoned to their aid, gained

Four new bishoprics, 1243.

Religious wars.

[1] Bishop Christian, who had lost the favour of the Pope, was offered, but did not accept, one of the four sees. He died in 1245.

[2] In 1230 Gregory IX had authorized the Dominicans to take part in the work of evangelizing Prussia.

a final victory. The knights then became the rulers of the land, the bishops, who were often selected from their ranks, being rendered dependent on them.

Oppression of the Slavs.

The oppression of the Slavs who formerly inhabited Pomerania and other districts in the neighbourhood of the Baltic by their German conquerors was as cruel as it was persistent. Though it was at times exercised in the name of religion, it was carried on long after the Slavs had become Christians. Krasinski, comparing the conduct of the Germans with that of Mohammedan conquerors, writes, "The Mongols who conquered the north-eastern principalities of Russia under the descendants of the terrible Genghis Khan, and who are always quoted as the acme of all that is savage and barbarous, not only left to the conquered Christians full religious liberty, but they exempted all their clergy with their families from the capitation tax imposed upon the rest of the inhabitants. Neither did they deprive them of their lands or bid them forget their national language, manners and customs. The Mohammedan Osmanlis left to the conquered Bulgarians and Servians their faith, their property and their local municipal institutions, whilst the Christian German princes and bishops divided amongst themselves the lands of the Slavonians who were either exterminated or reduced to bondage by whole provinces." [1]

Mongols *v.* Christians.

Archbishop Suerbeer, 1245.

In 1245 the Pope appointed Albert Suerbeer as archbishop of Prussia, and placed under him the bishoprics of Livland and Estland, and in 1255 he

[1] *Lectures on the Religious History of the Slavonic Nations*, by Valerian Krasinski, 1869, p. 8 f.

became bishop of Riga with the title and authority of an archbishop.

There is a note of pathos, not to say tragedy, in the story of the conversion of Pomerania and of Prussia, inasmuch as in both cases the land did not become Christian till the inhabitants whom it was sought to convert had been practically exterminated, and this as a direct result of the process of conversion. In both instances the Church which was eventually established was in chief part composed of Germans or men of Teutonic race who forcibly supplanted the earlier Slavonic inhabitants. In the case of Prussia the methods employed and the results attained remind us painfully of the missionary activities of the Spanish conquerors of Mexico and the West Indies. The judgment, moreover, which Prescott passes upon the Conqueror of Mexico is the judgment which the charitable student of the conversion of Prussia will be inclined to pass upon the Christian knights who forced upon that land a profession of Christianity. Prescott writes: "When we see the hand red with blood . . . raised to invoke the blessing of Heaven on the cause which it maintains, we experience something like a sensation of disgust at the act, and a doubt of its sincerity. But this is unjust. We should throw ourselves back into the age—the age of the Crusades. . . . Whoever has read the correspondence of Cortés . . . will hardly doubt that he would have been among the first to lay down his life for the faith. . . . There can be no doubt that Cortés, with every other man in his army, felt he was engaged in a holy crusade." [1]

The conversion of Prussia and of Mexico.

[1] *Conquest of Mexico*, vii. 5 and vi. 3.

The only other country in Europe in which the forcible conversion of the people was accompanied by cruelty similar to that which attended the conversion of Prussia was, as we shall see later, the kingdom of Norway, but in this case the oppression of its non-Christian inhabitants was of comparatively short duration and was followed by religious tolerance, which did much to obliterate the effects of the period of persecution.

CHAPTER XV

POLAND

Of the first introduction of Christianity into Poland we have no satisfactory record. Methodius (d. 885), who became the evangelist and archbishop of Moravia, which bordered on Poland, made some attempt to evangelize it, and in 949 missionaries from Moravia are said to have founded a church at Kleparz near Cracow where, for five centuries, Christian services were conducted in the national language. Methodius in Poland.

In 966 Duke Mieceslav[1] (or Mjesko), the first king of Poland, married Dambrowka the sister of Boleslav II (of Bohemia), and as a result of her influence he received baptism. Hardly any information is available which throws light upon the conversion of the Poles to a nominal Christianity, but the result was due more to political than to moral suasion. Having embraced Christianity for himself Mieceslav regarded it as his duty to make his subjects Christians with the least possible delay. A bishopric was established at Posen in 968, but the means which he adopted for securing adherents to his new faith were not such as to commend its adoption to his subjects, or to render possible missionary efforts of a more enduring character. Thietmar (Ditmar), the bishop of Merseburg, states that he Baptism of Mieceslav, 966. A bishopric of Posen, 968.

[1] Pronounced Meecheslav.

issued a proclamation forbidding them to eat meat between Septuagesima Sunday and Easter Day and threatening them with the loss of their teeth in case of disobedience. Thietmar pleads that, as the Poles were a people who needed to be tended like oxen and chastised like dilatory asses, nothing could be accomplished by their ruler except by means of severe punishments.[1] The threatened punishments did not however meet even with superficial success.

Introduction of foreign clergy.

The subsequent marriage of King Mieceslav (982) with his fourth wife Oda, who was the daughter of a German count, and had apparently been a nun,[2] resulted in the introduction of many clergy from Germany, Italy and France, and in the establishment of closer relations between the Roman Church and the Christian communities in Poland. Oda helped to establish several monasteries throughout Poland, and the close relations which existed between the Polish and the German Courts tended to increase the influence exerted by the German clergy throughout Poland. Many parishes in Poland were placed in charge of German clergy who were unable to speak to their people in their own language, and many of the monasteries made it a rule to admit only those who were of German nationality. As late as the thirteenth century Polish bishops found it necessary to enjoin the parish clergy to preach in the language understood by the people and not in the German language, and to prohibit the appointment of priests unacquainted with the national language.[3]

Mieceslav died in 992 and was succeeded by his son

[1] See *Thietmari Chronicon*, v. 861; ix. 2, 240. Migne, *P. L.* cxxxix.

[2] Thietmar, iv. 57, 895.

[3] See Krasinki's *Lectures on the religious history of the Slavonic nations*, p. 173.

Boleslav. In 1000 the Emperor Otto III, on the occasion of a visit to Gnesen, created this city a metropolitan see and gave it authority over the sees of Breslau, Cracow and Colberg.[1] During the troublous years at the beginning of the eleventh century the chief disputants were the Germans and the German sympathizers who represented a nominal Christianity, and the Slavs, who were for the most part heathen. The tendency of the intermittent fighting was to increase German influence and the number of German settlers. Boleslav was succeeded in 1026 by his son Mieceslav II, who died in 1034. On his death the heathen party regained the ascendancy, burnt many of the monasteries, and killed some of the bishops and other clergy. The miseries of the people were increased by two foreign wars, one with Russia and the other with Bohemia. Casimir, a son of Mieceslav II, who was eventually chosen (1040) to succeed him, had become a monk and was living in a monastery at the time of his election to the throne. Having been released from his vows by the Pope Benedict IX, he became king and soon afterwards married Maria the sister of Yaroslav, the prince of Kiev. As a result of his influence the use of the Slavonic liturgies was still further restricted and the Pope obtained greater control over the Polish Church.

Boleslav.

A heathen reaction, 1034.

Casimir.

Casimir introduced monks from the monastery of Cluny and founded for them two monasteries, one near Cracow and the other in Silesia, which at this time formed part of the kingdom of Poland. His successor Boleslav II (1058-1081) murdered with his own hand Stanislaus

Boleslav II.

[1] Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ii. 485.

bishop of Cracow, who had denounced his many crimes, and in consequence of the unpopularity which this act provoked he fled as an exile into Hungary, where he died in 1082.

Invasion by the Mongols.

During the reign of Boleslav V (1227-79) the Mongols invaded Poland and carried off many prisoners and much plunder. Cracow was burnt in 1241. In 1386 the kingdom of Poland was united with that of Lithuania.[1]

[1] See below, p. 521.

CHAPTER XVI

DENMARK[1] AND ICELAND

In 780, whilst Willehad was engaged in preaching in Wigmodia, one of his clergy, named Atrebanus, visited the Ditmars[2] who dwelt to the south-west of Denmark immediately to the north of the town of Hamburg. Liudger a little later, wished to go as a missionary to Denmark, but Charlemagne refused his consent. Soon after the accession of Louis the Pious, the successor of Charlemagne, Harald Klak king of Jutland solicited his help to enable him to make himself king of Denmark. It was agreed that an army of Franks and Slavonians should be sent to his assistance, and Ebo, archbishop of Rheims and primate of France, took part in the expedition in the hope that he might be able to introduce Christianity into Denmark. He was accompanied by Willerich bishop of Bremen and went as the legate of Pope Pascal and with the formal approval of the diet of Attigny. A start was made in the early spring of 823 and a centre of missionary work was established at Welanao in Holstein.

Atrebanus, 780.

Archbishop Ebo, 823.

In 826, when the Danish king and his wife, together with a train of about 400 followers, visited Louis at

[1] Until the conquest by Prussia of Schleswig and Holstein in 1864 these provinces formed part of the kingdom of Denmark.

[2] See *Vita Willehadi*, vi. Migne, cxviii. col. 1018. "Atrebanum vero clericum in Thiatmaresgao." Atrebanus was one of those who were killed by Wittekind in 782.

Baptism of Danish king.

Ingelheim, the emperor stood as godfather to the king, and the empress Judith as godmother to the queen, on the occasion of their baptism in Mainz cathedral. With the king and queen were baptized a large part of their retinue. In view of the return of Harald to Denmark Ebo was anxious to find a capable missionary whom he might send with him and who might help to confirm the king and the other newly-made Christians in their faith. The missionary who was selected, and who himself expressed an eager desire to undertake this arduous post, when others to whom the work had been

Anskar,

suggested hung back,[1] was a monk named Anskar, or Ansgar, who was born near Corbie in the diocese of Amiens about 801. Educated first of all at the monastery of Corbie, he was afterwards transferred to New Corbie in Westphalia, where he acted as a teacher in the school and a preacher in the surrounding districts. As a boy he had frequently seen visions, and in one of these he seemed to be lifted up to the Source of all light and to hear a voice saying to him "Go and return to me crowned with martyrdom."[2] In another vision, which he had before setting out for Sweden, having obtained an assurance that his sins were forgiven, he asked, "Lord, what would'st thou have me to do?" and received the answer, "Go, preach the word of God to the tribes of the heathen."[3] When the proposal to accompany Harald was suggested to him by the abbot Wala, he himself eagerly accepted,

[1] See Adam Brem. 17. "Nemo doctorum facile posset inveniri qui cum illis ad Danos vellet pergere propter crudelitatem barbaricam qua gens illa ab omnibus fugitur."

[2] *Vita*, c. 6. The life of Anskar was written by Rimbert, his deacon and his successor as archbishop of Bremen.

[3] *Vita*, c. 15.

but only one of his companions, a monk named Autbert, was willing to accompany him, and the two, after receiving encouragement and material assistance from the Emperor, proceeded together to Cologne. Here Bishop Hadebald presented him with a vessel in which to continue his journey and Harald himself joined him as a passenger. During the two years in which Anskar laboured as a missionary in Denmark he started a school at Schleswig for twelve boys whom he hoped eventually to train as missionaries. It does not appear that he achieved any large amount of success as a result of his preaching and at the end of two years, in 828, when Harald was himself driven out of his kingdom, Anskar also retired from Schleswig, and soon afterwards went on a pioneer missionary journey to Sweden.

accompanied by Autbert.

A missionary school at Schleswig.

King Harald had roused the bitter hostility of his subjects by his destruction of their temples and by endeavouring to force them to adopt his own faith.[1] He was succeeded by King Horick who at the beginning of his reign opposed the spread of the Christian faith, but later on withdrew his opposition. The favour which he showed towards the Christians provoked his heathen subjects and other heathen chiefs to rise in rebellion, and a battle, which lasted for three days and which was fought near Flensburgh in 854, resulted in the complete victory of the heathen and the destruction of nearly all King Horick's relations and chiefs. His one remaining descendant Horick II, who was left as regent over a small portion of the country,

King Horick.

Horick II.

[1] See *Saxo Grammaticus*, ix. 460, "delubra diruit, victimarios proscripsit, flaminium abrogavit, atque inconditæ patriæ Christianismi sacra primus intulit, rejectoque demonum cultu divinum emulatus est."

forbad for a time the practice of Christian worship, but ere long he invited Anskar to send missionaries again into his country. He also caused the church at Schleswig to be reopened and to be provided with a bell, the use of which had never before been allowed,[1] and soon afterwards gave permission for a second church to be built at Ripen in Jutland.

After his return to Hamburg Anskar devoted himself to the organization and administration of the united diocese of Hamburg and Bremen.[2] One of the last incidents which his biographer records is his intervention with some of the chiefs in North Albingia in order to secure the release of a number of Christians who had been seized as slaves.[3] He died at Bremen on Feb. 3, 865, at the age of sixty-four, after spending altogether thirty-four years in missionary labours. His one regret as he lay ill was that his hope and expectation of winning a martyr's crown had not been fulfilled. As he lay dying he repeated over and over again the words: "Lord be merciful to me a sinner: into Thy hands I commend my spirit." His biographer dwells upon his charity, his asceticism and his humility. He supported a hospital at Bremen for the sick and needy, he gave a tenth part of his income to the poor and gave them a share of any presents which he received, and every five years he gave an additional tithe of the animals which he possessed in order that the poor might receive their full share. Whenever he went on a tour throughout his diocese he would never sit down to dinner without ordering some poor people to be brought in to share the meal, and during Lent he

Death of Anskar, 865.

Character of Anskar.

[1] *Vita*, c. 54. [2] See below, pp. 473 n., 477. [3] *Vita*, c. 66.

would wash the feet of the poor and himself distribute bread and meat amongst them. He wore a hair shirt by day and by night; in his earlier years he measured out his food and drink, and he chanted a fixed number of psalms when he rose in the morning and when he retired at night. He would also sing psalms as he laboured with his hands and would chant litanies as he dressed or washed his hands, and three or four times a day he would celebrate Mass. Although his biographer attributes to him the working of miracles he never laid claim to this power himself. When one suggested to him that he could perform miracles of healing he replied: "Were I worthy of such a favour from my God, I would ask that He would grant to me this one miracle that by His grace He would make of me a good man." [1]

Bishop Wordsworth writes of him: "There can be no question of Anskar's saintliness, according to the standard of any age of Christendom. His missionary zeal and courage, his uncomplaining patience, his generosity . . . his austere self-discipline and his diligence in the work of his calling were all striking features of his character. . . . His relations with Ebo, who might so readily have been regarded as his rival, seem to have been more than friendly. He evidently felt the great importance and future possibilities of their joint mission and he seems to have done his best to leave it as a legacy to be fostered by the whole Church of Germany." [2]

[1] "Si dignus essem apud Deum meum rogarem quatenus unum mihi concederet signum videlicet ut de me sua gratia faceret bonum hominem." *Vita*, c. 67.

[2] *The National Church of Sweden*, by the late bishop of Salisbury, p. 56.

His missionary policy.

The policy with regard to the question of self-support in the Mission Field that Anskar adopted, and which he recommended to the missionaries whom he sent out, was this. He maintained that a missionary should ask nothing of those to whom he went but should rather endeavour, following the example of St. Paul, to support himself by his own labour. At the same time he accepted from the emperor and from kings, and himself gave to his missionaries, what was needed for their subsistence, and in addition enabled them to make presents, by the gift of which friends and patrons might be secured amongst the heathen.

Progress and reaction.

Missionary work both in Denmark and Sweden was carried on under great difficulties and was frequently interrupted by the desolating raids made by the pagan tribes of the north. The Danes, however, who settled in England at this period became subject to Christian influences and a Dane named Odo became archbishop of Canterbury in 942. Referring to a period half a century or more after the death of Anskar, Adam of Bremen writes: "Let it suffice us to know that up to this time all (the kings of the Danes) had been pagans, and amid so great changes of kingdoms or inroads of barbarians some small part of the Christianity which had been planted by Saint Anskar had remained, the whole had not failed." [1]

King Gorm.

During the earlier years of the tenth century King Gorm showed bitter hostility towards the Christians, but in 934 he was compelled by the German Emperor Henry to desist from persecuting them and at the same time to give up Schleswig to the German

[1] Adam Brem. i. 54.

Empire. Schleswig was afterwards occupied to a large extent by Christian settlers and from it as a starting ground several efforts were made to spread Christianity in Denmark. One of these was made by Archbishop Unni of Hamburg,[1] who exercised considerable influence with Harald the son of Gorm and the heir to his throne. Harald's mother Thyra was a daughter of the first Christian prince Harald and she had influenced her son to declare himself a Christian although he had not been baptized. Harald himself became king in 941 and reigned for nearly fifty years. In 972, after an unsuccessful war with Otto I, he and the whole of his army accepted Christian baptism,[2] and on this occasion the emperor himself stood as godfather to his son Sweyno (Sweno). After his baptism he hesitated to renounce altogether his ancestral gods, but he gave encouragement to Christian missionaries and endeavoured to establish churches and Christian institutions throughout Denmark.[3] In 948 Archbishop Adaldag of Hamburg had been encouraged by him to consecrate three bishops of German nationality for Denmark, Hored, Reginbrand and Liafdag, the last of whom was a devoted and successful missionary.

Archbishop Unni.

King Harald, 941.

His baptism, 972.

Consecration of three bishops.

After Harald had reigned nearly fifty years his son Sweyn, although he had been baptized as a Christian, placed himself at the head of a pagan reaction and on the death of his father in battle he became king in 991. On acceding to the throne he re-established paganism, expelled the Christian missionaries and destroyed

King Sweyn, 991.

[1] Adam Brem. c. 61.

[2] See *Heimskringla*, i. p. 393 f.

[3] The story of Bp. Poppo, related by Adam Brem. and Thietmar, who is said miraculously to have carried molten iron in order to convince Harald of the truth of Christianity, is probably unhistorical.

Sweyn invades England.

many of the Christian buildings. Later on Sweyn invaded England, where he devastated wide districts, burning villages and plundering churches and monasteries. Before his death in England on February 2, 1014, he had abandoned his hostility towards Christianity and returned to the faith in which he had been baptized. After he resumed his profession of the Christian faith he took active measures to win over his Danish subjects to the same faith. Instead of applying to the Bishop of Hamburg for additional missionaries he caused

Bishop Gotebald.

Gotebald to be consecrated as a bishop in England and sent him to Denmark to act as a leader in a new missionary campaign. His son Canute became an earnest supporter of the Christian faith. It was no easy task which the missionaries in Denmark essayed,—to influence a people who thought it disgraceful to shed tears over their own crimes, or on the occasion

Canute.

of the death of those whom they had loved.[1] Canute issued orders forbidding honours to be shown to the pagan gods and directing that his subjects should everywhere be taught to say the Lord's Prayer and the Creed and to receive the Holy Communion three times a year.

Of the many bishops whom Canute had consecrated in England for missionary work in Denmark Adam of Bremen mentions three by name, Bernard bishop of Schonen (Sconia), Gerbrand bishop of Seeland and Reginbert bishop of Funen. It is uncertain whether these bishops were of English or of German nationality.[2]

Before the close of the twelfth century the influence

[1] Hauck's *K. D.* iii. 641.

[2] See Hauck's *K. D.* iii. 642 n.; Adam Brem. ii. 53.

exerted by Christianity in Denmark had again decreased and the God of the Christians was regarded in the same light as the national gods of the country and was referred to as "the German god."[1] Moreover, the profession of Christianity ceased to exert any definite influence upon the behaviour of its professors.[2]

"The German god."

The Faroe islands[3] were probably first colonized by Grim Kamban during the reign of the Norwegian king Harald Haarfager. Christianity was introduced by Sigmund Bresterson, one of the chief men in the islands, towards the end of the tenth century. King Olaf Tryggvason sent for him and offered him his friendship and great honour if he would become a Christian. He and his companions were accordingly baptized and, returning to the islands in 998 accompanied by missionaries sent by King Olaf, he endeavoured to persuade the islanders to follow his example. They, however, raised a strenuous opposition which was put down by force in the following year, when a large number of baptisms took place. Sigmund erected a church on his own estate and endeavoured to spread the Christian faith, but as soon as the argument of force was removed many of those who had been baptized relapsed into their former heathenism.

The Faroe islands.

Later on a bishopric was established at Kirkebo, but the islands are at present connected with the bishopric of Zealand. They now belong to Denmark, but prior to 1815 they belonged to Norway.

[1] "Teutonicus deus," *cf.* Ebo, iii. 1.

[2] See *Saxo Grammaticus*, xiv. 893, "qui tametsi christiano nomine censerentur titulum moribus abdicabant, professionem operibus polluentes."

[3] They are said to have derived their name from the word "faar," sheep.

Iceland

Iceland (*Insula Glacialis*) was apparently first visited by Irish Christians, traces of whose work were found when the first Norwegian settlers arrived about 861. These settlers remained heathen till 981, when Thorwald, who was roving the seas as a pirate chief, fell in with a bishop named Friedrich in Saxony, by whom he was instructed and subsequently baptized as a Christian. The bishop visited Iceland in company with Thorwald and spent five years in travelling from place to place and preaching Christianity. One of those whom he baptized, Codran the father of Thorwald, had challenged the bishop to prove to him that the God of the Christians was stronger than the idol which he worshipped and which consisted of a large stone. The bishop accepted the challenge and proceeded to chant hymns over the stone until it burst in pieces.[1] Needless to say the result brought conviction to those who witnessed the miracle. The preaching of the bishop encountered much opposition and, despite his remonstrance, Thorwald killed two of the scalds or national poets who had composed satires upon Christianity. In the northern part of the island a number of converts were obtained, one of whom Thorwald Spakbodvarssum built a church on his estate, to serve which the bishop appointed a priest. Soon after this the bishop returned to his own country. In 996 King Olaf Tryggvason of Norway induced Stefner, a member of one of the principal families in Iceland, to go as a missionary to his fellow-countrymen. He failed to

First Norwegian settlers, 861.

Baptism of Thorwald.

Stefner.

[1] *Kristni Saga.*

influence them by his words, but destroyed several of their temples and idols, whereupon he and other Christians were forced to leave and to take refuge in Norway. The next to attempt the conversion of Iceland was one than whom it were hard to conceive a more unsuitable missionary. The author of the *Heimskringla* writes of him: "There was a Saxon priest who was called Thangbrand, a passionate, ungovernable man, and a great man-slayer, but he was a good scholar and a clever man. The king (Olaf) would not have him in his house upon account of his misdeeds, but gave him the errand to go to Iceland and bring that land to the Christian faith."[1] King Olaf's authority procured for him a hearing, but his missionary activities met with little success, and having murdered two scalds who had ridiculed him, he was pursued as a murderer and returned to Norway in 999. King Olaf threatened to take vengeance for the repulse of Thangbrand on the Icelanders who were in Norway, but eventually agreed to pardon them on condition of their accepting baptism. In 1000 two Icelanders named Gissur and Hiallti, accompanied by a priest named Thormud and several other clergy, undertook a mission to Iceland.[2] This mission met with more success and the Christians soon became an important section of the whole population. A meeting at which the introduction of Christianity was being discussed was interrupted by a messenger who came running to say that a frightful volcanic eruption had just occurred and that "a stream of lava had burst out at Olfus and would run over the homestead of

Thangbrand.

Gissur and Hiallti.

[1] *Heimskringla*, i. p. 441.

[2] Id. i. 465.

Thorod the priest." Then the heathen began to say, "No wonder that the gods are wroth at such speeches as we have heard." Whereupon Snorro, the (heathen) priest, spoke and said, "At what, then, were the gods wroth when this lava was molten and ran over the spot on which we now stand?"

The heathen eventually decided that, in accordance with their custom in times of great calamities, each of the four districts of the island should offer two men in sacrifice to their gods. When this proposal was adopted Hialti and Gissur said to their friends: "The pagans devote as sacrifices to their gods the most abandoned men and cast them headlong from precipices. We will choose an equal number from the best of the people, who in the true sense shall devote themselves as offerings to our Lord Christ, shining forth to all as conspicuous examples of Christian life and confession." Of the results which attended this new missionary enterprise we have no information, but soon afterwards Sido-Hallr one of the leaders of the Christians came to an agreement with Thorgeir the supervisor of laws, which was subsequently ratified by a national council, that the following new laws should be enacted: 1. that all the people of Iceland should accept baptism and profess Christianity; 2. that all idol-temples and idols which stood in any public place should be destroyed; 3. that anyone who offered sacrifices to idols in public or performed any public idolatrous ceremonies should be banished, but that the worship of idols in secret should not be prohibited. Though paganism continued to be recognised for some time as a private religion, the influence of Christianity

General acceptance of Christianity.

tended to increase. King Olaf Tryggvason of Norway shortly after his accession in 995 sent an embassy to Iceland to urge that the exposure of infants and other pagan customs that still prevailed should be abolished. Until the middle of the eleventh century the bishops who had worked in Iceland had all been foreigners, but in 1056 Isleif, who had been sent by his father Gissur to Erfurt to be educated, was chosen by the Icelanders as their bishop and fixed his see at Skalholt. A second see was founded in 1107 at Holum. The teaching and influence of these bishops who were natives of Iceland soon resulted in the extirpation of heathen worship and customs. The first bishops who were appointed by the Icelanders themselves exercised regal authority.[1]

Bishop Isleif, 1056.

Adam of Bremen gives an optimistic account of the conditions prevailing in Iceland a little later than this. He writes of its inhabitants: "As in their simplicity they lead a holy life and seek nothing beyond what nature has bestowed on them, they can cheerfully say with the Apostle Paul, 'having food and raiment let us be therewith content,' for their mountains serve to them as forts, and their springs are their delight. Happy people whose poverty no one envies, and happiest in this that at the present time they have all received Christianity. Many things are remarkable in their manners, but above all their charity, which places all they own in common, alike to the foreigner and the native."[2]

Conditions of life in Iceland.

[1] See Adam Bremensis, *Descriptio insularum Aquilonis*, 35, "episcopum habent pro rege, ad cujus nutum respicit omnis populus, quicquid ex Deo, ex scripturis, ex consuetudine aliarum gentium ille constituit, hoc pro lege habent."

[2] Id.

CHAPTER XVII

NORWAY

The *Heimskringla* by Snorro Sturleson.

THE chief source of information relating to the early history of Norway and the introduction of Christianity into this country is Snorro Sturleson, 1178–1241, whose work the *Heimskringla* (*i.e.* the World) was written in Icelandic.[1] The author was murdered by Hakon the king of Norway in 1241. His work throws much light upon the religion and customs of the early inhabitants of Norway and of Iceland and may be regarded as generally trustworthy. Until the latter half of the ninth century Norway was divided into a number of independent states or principalities, the first king to rule over the whole being Harald Haarfagar (Fair-hair),[2] who in 933 resigned the throne to his son Eric Blodöxe (Bloody-axe). Soon after the death of Harald, which took place in 936, his youngest son Hakon, who had been residing with King Athelstan in

Harald Haarfagar.

[1] An English translation was published in 1844. See below, p. 604.

[2] It is interesting to note that according to the Saga of Halfdan the Black (c. 7) Harald Haarfagar had received heathen baptism. Thus the Saga states, "Queen Ragnhild gave birth to a son, and water was poured over him and the name Harald given him." Bishop Wordsworth referring to this statement writes: "This ceremony of heathen baptism is well attested" (*The National Church of Sweden*, p. 39 n.). The evidence, however, which is available relates exclusively to sons of princes, and we are inclined to agree with Laing, the English translator of the *Heimskringla*, that this baptism was attributed by later Christian writers to the ancestors of their kings in order to enhance their dignity and sanctity. See Laing's *Heimskringla*, i. p. 82.

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England and who had been baptized and instructed in the Christian faith, sailed for Norway, and having been joined by the principal jarls succeeded in establishing himself as king. Eric was subsequently killed whilst fighting in England (944).

King Hakon.

The author of the *Heimskringla* writes: "King Hakon was a good Christian when he came to Norway, but as the whole country was heathen, with much heathenish sacrifice, and as many great people, as well as the favour of the common people, were to be conciliated, he resolved to practise his Christianity in private. But he kept Sundays, and the Friday fasts, and some token of the greatest holy-days. He made a law that the festival of Yule[1] should begin at the same time as Christian people held it and that every man, under penalty, should brew a measure of malt into ale and therewith keep the Yule holy as long as it lasted. It was his intent as soon as he had set himself fast in the land, and had subjected the whole to his power, to introduce Christianity."[2] He resided for a considerable time in the district of Drontheim, and when he thought that he could rely upon the support of his people he sent a message to England asking for a bishop and other teachers.[3] When they arrived

The Yule festival.

A bishop and teachers from England.

[1] The word Yule is derived from Yiolner, which was one of Odin's names. The festivities connected with this pagan celebration were then amalgamated with those of the Christian festival, and the word Yule-tide still exists as a synonym for Christmas.

[2] *Heimskringla*, i. 326, Eng. ed. by Laing.

[3] In the list of bishops who had been monks at Glastonbury given by William of Malmesbury in *De antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ*, occurs the name "Sigefridus Norwegensis episcopus." It is not impossible that this may have been the bishop referred to in the *Heimskringla*. For evidence for and against this identification see *Hist. of the Ch. and State in Norway*, Willson, pp. 355 ff.

Hakon announced his intention to make Christianity the national religion and had several churches built and consecrated. When he invited the people to accept Christianity they expressed a desire that so important a proposal should be deferred for the consideration of the Froste Thing (Assembly) which was soon to meet at Drontheim. The king began his address to the Thing by saying that "it was his message and entreaty to all Bonders (landowners) and householding men both great and small, and to the whole public in general, young and old, rich and poor, women as well as men, that they should all allow themselves to be baptized, and should believe in one God and in Christ the Son of Mary, and should refrain from all sacrifices and heathen gods and should keep holy the seventh day and abstain from all work on it and keep a fast on the seventh day." The king's proposal was received with expressions of vehement dissatisfaction, which was voiced by one of the Bonders present who said, "We Bonders, King Hakon, . . . do not know whether thou wishest to make vassals of us again by this extraordinary proposal that we should abandon the ancient faith that our fathers and forefathers have held from the oldest times, in the times when the dead were burnt, as well as since they are laid under mounds, and which, although they were braver than the people of our days, has served us as a faith to the present time." He went on to say that unless the king would abandon his proposals the Bonders would choose another king and would fight against him.

Meeting of the Froste Thing at Drontheim.

Opposition to introduction of Christianity.

At a harvest festival in honour of the gods, which

occurred soon afterwards, great pressure was brought to bear upon the king to take part in the heathen ceremonial. When a goblet, that had been blessed in the name of Odin, had been handed to the king he made the sign of the cross over it, and when one of the chiefs present exclaimed, "What does the king mean by doing so? Will he not sacrifice?" Earl Sigurd, who desired to mediate between the king and his subjects, replied, "He is blessing the full goblet in the name of Thor by making the sign of his hammer over it before he drinks it."[1] On the next day the king was pressed to eat horseflesh, the eating of which was regarded as an essential part of the ceremonial.[2] He refused to do this, but at length, after the request had been many times repeated, he consented to "hold his mouth over the handle of the kettle, upon which the fat smoke of the boiled horseflesh had settled." Neither party, however, was satisfied with this compromise. In the following winter eight chiefs who were opposed to the introduction of the new religion bound themselves, four to root out the Christianity which already existed, and the other four to compel the king to offer sacrifice to the national gods. The first four went to Möre, where they killed three Christian priests and burnt three churches. When the king came to Möre, on the occasion of the Yule feast, they insisted that he should offer sacrifice. This he refused to do, but he consented to eat some pieces of horse-liver and to drink goblets which had been filled in

Hakon compromises with paganism.

Murder of Christian priests.

[1] *Heimskringla*, i. p. 330.

[2] The eating of horseflesh was pronounced to be sinful for Christians by Pope Gregory III, who referred to the practice in a letter addressed to Boniface as "immundum atque execrabile."

honour of the gods. On this occasion too neither party was satisfied and the following summer the king began to collect an army, apparently with the intention of attacking those who were opposed to the adoption of Christianity. Whilst his plans were still undeveloped news reached him that the sons of his brother Eric had come from Denmark and were invading the country. At the battle of Augvaldsness the invaders were defeated and forced to retire. They returned however on several later occasions to raid the coasts of Norway and in a battle fought against them in 963 Hakon was killed. He was succeeded by Harald the eldest son of Eric who, together with his brothers, had been baptized in England. He and his brothers, "when they came to rule over Norway made no progress in spreading Christianity, only they pulled down the temples of the idols, and cast away the sacrifices where they had it in their power, and raised great animosity by doing so."

Harald Ericson, 963.

In 977 Harald Blaatland, the king of Denmark, conquered Norway and appointed Earl Hakon as his representative to rule over it, having first constrained him to accept baptism. After the baptism of Earl Hakon and his followers "the king gave them priests and other learned men with them and ordered that the earl should make all the people in Norway to be baptized."[1] On his return to Norway, however, Hakon allied himself with the heathen party and on one occasion, before a battle with a party of raiders at Jomsburg, he sacrificed one of his own sons as an offering to Thor in the hope of securing a victory. In 995 he was

Harald Blaatland conquers Norway, 977.

A human sacrifice.

[1] *Heimskringla*, i. p. 394.

succeeded by Olaf Tryggvason. Olaf, prior to his becoming king, had travelled much and had visited England, Russia, Greece and Constantinople. He had learned something of the Christian faith in Bremen, but his baptism was brought about by a seer or fortune-teller in the Scilly Islands.[1] This man, having convinced Olaf that he could forecast the future and having correctly foretold what would immediately befall him, urged him to be baptized. After his baptism he visited England where he was confirmed by Elphege the bishop of Winchester in 994, in the presence of the Saxon king Ethelred. He then visited Dublin, which contained a large settlement of Norsemen, and there married Queen Gyda a sister of Olaf Quaran (Kvaran) the king of Dublin. During his visit to Dublin he was invited by a Norwegian named Thorer (Thorir) to come to Norway where, he assured him, the people would welcome him as their king.

Olaf Tryggvason.

His baptism.

Visit to Dublin.

On his way to Norway Olaf put in at the island of South Ronaldsa in the Orkneys, and after telling the earl whom he met there that "he would lay waste the islands with fire and sword, if the people did not accept Christianity," he witnessed their baptism before proceeding on his voyage.[2]

In the Orkney Islands.

On his arrival at Drontheim he was unanimously chosen as king of Norway. Soon after Hakon was murdered by one of his servants who brought his head to Olaf, but was executed by him for having killed his king. After his accession king Olaf "made it

[1] Cf. *Heimskringla*, i. 397, but possibly the islands meant are the Skellig Islands on the S.W. coast of Ireland, where at this time a monastery existed.

[2] *Heimskringla*, i. 419. See also above, p. 83.

Olaf recommends the Christian faith.

known that he recommended Christianity to all the people in his kingdom, which message was well received and approved by those who had before given him their promise, and these being the most powerful among the people assembled, the others followed their example, and all the inhabitants of the east part of Viken allowed themselves to be baptized. The king then went to the north part of Viken[1] and invited every man to accept Christianity, and those who opposed him he punished severely, killing some, mutilating others, and driving some into banishment." According to Adam of Bremen, Liafdag, who became bishop of Ribe in Denmark in 948, preached beyond the sea, that is in Sweden and Norway. Viken was at this time subject to the king of Denmark. The author of the *Heimskringla* also states that Harald sent "two jarls to Norway to preach Christianity, which was done in Viken where King Harald's power prevailed." This Christianity had apparently disappeared before the time of Olaf. In the following spring Olaf proceeded northwards to Agder accompanied by a great army and "proclaimed that every man should be baptized." To quote the words of the old Saga: "Thereafter were all folk baptized in the eastern part of Vik; and then went the king to the northern parts thereof and invited all men to receive Christianity, and those who said nay chastised he severely, slaying some and maiming some and driving away others from the land. So it came to pass that the people of the whole of that kingdom over which his father Tryggvi had ruled aforetime, and likewise that which his kins-

Forcible spread of Christianity in Viken

and Agder.

[1] *Heimskringla*, i. 427.

man Harald the Grenlander had possessed, received Christianity according to the bidding of King Olaf. Wherefore in that summer and in the winter thereafter were the people of the whole of Vik made Christian." [1]

At a Thing held in Rogaland some opposition was encountered, but before the Thing dispersed all its members had received baptism.[2] Soon afterwards the king summoned the Bonders of the Fiord district, South Möre and Romsdal, to meet him, to whom he "offered two conditions, either to accept Christianity, or to fight." The result was that the inhabitants of these districts were also baptized.[3] At this time Olaf destroyed the temple at Lade on the door of which Hakon had hung a large golden ring. At Nidaros in the district of Drontheim Olaf encountered such serious opposition from the Bonders that he pretended to give way and expressed a desire to visit the place where "the greatest sacrifice-festival" was to be held, so that he might compare the customs of the pagans with those of the Christians. When the time for this festival, which was to be held at Maere, drew near, the king summoned a number of chiefs and other great Bonders to a feast which he had prepared at Lade. On the morning after the feast the king referred to the proposal that had been made that he should attend the great sacrifice-festival in honour of the heathen gods. He then went on to say, "If I, along with you, shall turn again to making sacrifice, then will I make the greatest of sacrifices that are in use, and I will sacrifice men. But I will not select slaves or male-

Opposition at Nidaros.

A council at Maere.

[1] *The Sagas of Olaf Tryggvason and Harald the Tyrant* (Eng. ed.), p. 68.

[2] *Heimskringla*, p. 429.

[3] Id. 431.

factors for this, but will take the greatest men only to be offered to the gods." [1] He then proceeded to name eleven of the principal men there present whom he said he had selected to be offered as sacrifices. The Bonders, realizing that they were not sufficiently strong to resist, submitted themselves to the king and were forthwith baptized. When the king came to Maere he appealed to the assembly which had gathered there to accept Christian baptism. When they expressed strong disapproval he asked if he might visit the temple which stood near and having entered it, together with a few of his soldiers, he struck down with his own hand the image of Thor, whilst his men threw down the other gods from their seats. The people, moved by the inability of their gods to defend their images, or overawed by the determined action of their king, agreed to be baptized and gave hostages to the king as a pledge that they would remain Christians. On another occasion the king "sailed northwards with his fleet to Halogaland. Wheresoever he came to the land, or to the islands, he held a Thing and told the people to accept the right faith and to be baptized. No man dared to say anything against it, and the whole country he passed through was made Christian." [2] As a result of this series of forcible conversions nearly the whole of Norway became nominally Christian within the space of four years. In 1000 Olaf was worsted in a naval engagement against the united forces of Denmark and Sweden, and in order to avoid capture he threw himself overboard and was drowned.

The Bonders submit.

Destruction of heathen images.

The country "made Christian."

Death of Olaf, 1000.

[1] *Heimskringla*, i. 438 f; *Saga of Olaf T.*, p. 80. [2] *Heimskringla*, i. 445.

His character.

From the limited historical materials that are available it is hard to obtain any distinct information in regard to the sincerity of Olaf's religious beliefs, or in regard to the motives that induced him to become one of the most intolerant and unchristian defenders of the Christian faith which the history of the middle ages can produce. Although in public life he seemed to delight in cruelty, in private life he was sociable and generous. His religious fanaticism was to a large extent due to the religious education that he had received, his interpretation of which was influenced by the Viking traditions of his family and countrymen.

Accession of Eric.

After the death of Olaf, Eric, the brother-in-law of King Canute, who was supported by the Danish and Swedish kings, ruled the country for about fifteen years, during the whole of which time Christianity made little progress.

Olaf Haraldson, 1015.

In 1015 Olaf Haraldson, a descendant of Harald Haarfager, and usually known as Olaf the Saint, whose youth had been spent in piratical expeditions to England and elsewhere, succeeded in overthrowing the rule of the Swedes and Danes and in making himself king of Norway.[1] As soon as he had established himself as king he sent to England and brought over both bishops

[1] The date of Olaf's baptism is uncertain. According to the *Heimskringla* he was baptized at Ringerike when he was three years old, but William of Jumièges in his Chronicle, referring to a visit paid by Olaf to Duke Richard at Zoven, writes, "King Olaf being attracted by the Christian religion, as were also some of his followers, on the exhortation of Archbishop Robert, was converted to the faith of Christ, was washed in baptism and anointed with holy oil by the archbishop, and full of joy at the grace he had received returned straightway to his own kingdom." A similar statement is made in the *Passio et miracula beati Olaui*, by Archbishop Eystein, who adds that previous to his baptism at Rouen "he had learned the truth of the Gospel in England."

Missionaries from England.

and clergy from thence. We may gather from the names of those who are particularly mentioned that they belonged to Danish families who had settled in England. Adam of Bremen specially mentions the names of Sigafrid, Grimkil, Rudolf and Bernard.[1] He also invited the archbishop of Bremen to assist in the evangelization of Norway.

Olaf's efforts to spread the faith.

"It was King Olaf's custom," writes the author of the *Heimskringla*, "to rise betimes in the morning . . . and then go to church and hear the matins and morning mass. . . . Christian privileges he settled according to the advice of Bishop Grimkil and other learned priests and bent his whole mind to uprooting heathenism and old customs which he thought contrary to Christianity."[2]

Referring to a progress made by the king through the southern part of his kingdom, he writes, "The king proceeded southwards . . . stopping at every district and holding Things with the Bonders, and in each Thing he ordered the Christian law to be read, together with the message of salvation thereto belonging, and with which many ill customs and much heathenism were swept away at once among the common people; . . . the people were baptized in the most places on the sea-coast, but the most of them were ignorant of Christian law. . . . The king threatened the most violent proceedings against great or small who, after the king's message would not adopt

[1] See Adam Brem. ii. 55, "habuit secum multos episcopos et presbyteros ab Anglia, quorum monitu et doctrina ipse cor suum Deo præparavit, subjectumque populum illis ad regendum commisit. Quorum clari doctrina et virtutibus erant Sigafrid, Grimkil, Rudolf et Bernard."

[2] *Heimskringla*, ii. 52.

Christianity."[1] On a later occasion when he was visiting the people in the district of Vingulmark, in the uplands, "he enquired particularly how it stood with their Christianity, and where improvement was needed he taught them the right customs. If any there were who would not renounce heathen ways, he took the matter so zealously that he drove some out of the country, mutilated others of hands or feet, stung their eyes out, hung up some, but let none go unpunished who would not serve God. He went thus through the whole district, sparing neither great nor small. He gave them teachers and placed these as thickly in the country as he saw needful."[2] We can but hope that the Christianity which these teachers inculcated differed materially from that which their king strove to enforce.

His punishment of unbelievers.

After he had been king for about five years he was informed that heathen sacrifices were being offered by the inhabitants of Maere near the head of the Drontheim Fiord, whereupon he made an attack upon the inhabitants of this district at the head of 300 armed men. "Some were taken prisoners and laid in irons, some ran away and many were robbed of their goods." The chronicler continues, without any sense of impropriety or touch of humour, "He thus brought the whole people (in this district) back to the right faith, gave them teachers, and built and consecrated churches."[3] Again, referring to the uplands not far from Maere, he writes: "Here he laid hold of all the best men and forced them, both at Lesso and Dovre, either to receive Christianity or suffer death,

Conversions at Maere.

[1] *Heimskringla*, ii. 56 f. [2] Id. ii. p. 79. [3] Id. ii. 152.

if they were not so lucky as to escape. After they received Christianity the king took their sons in his hands as hostages for their fidelity, . . . he summoned by message-token the people . . . for the districts of Vaage, Loar and Hedal and gave out the message along with the token that they must either receive Christianity and give their sons as hostages, or see their habitations burnt." [1]

Opposition of Gudbrand.

In the neighbourhood of Loar lived a chief named Gudbrand, a leader of the pagans who were prepared to resist by force the introduction of Christianity into their districts. When Olaf advanced towards his place Gudbrand sent his son with 700 men to meet him, but, a sudden assault having been made by Olaf's men, these were scattered and Gudbrand's son was made prisoner. Olaf sent his son back to Gudbrand and summoned all to meet him at a Thing. The assembly met on a very wet day and Gudbrand then proposed as a test of the power of the Christians' God that He should intervene on their behalf and cause the next day to be cloudy but without rain. In the evening Olaf asked Gudbrand's son what their god was like. He replied that "he bore the likeness of Thor, had a hammer in his hand, was of great size, but hollow within, and had a high stand upon which he stood when he was out. 'Neither gold nor silver,' he said, 'are wanting above him and every day he receives four cakes of bread besides meat.'" [2] That night the king "watched all night in prayer." The weather next day proved to be what Gudbrand had desired and at the Thing which met that day and at

[1] *Heimskringla*, ii. p. 153 f. [2] Id. p. 158.

which Olaf was present the bishop (Sigurd) stood up in his choir robes, with bishop's mitre upon his head and bishop's staff in his hands. He spoke to the Bonders of the true faith, "told the many wonderful acts of God and concluded his speech well." To this speech one of the leaders of the pagans replied, "Many things we are told of by this horned[1] man with the staff in his hand crooked at the top like a ram's horn, but since ye say that your God is so powerful . . . tell Him to make it clear sunshine to-morrow forenoon and then we shall meet here again and do one of two things, either agree with you about this business or fight you."[2] Speech by Bishop Sigurd.

That night also King Olaf spent in prayer "beseeching God of His goodness and mercy to release him from evil." But before withdrawing for prayer he gave orders that holes should be bored in the ships of the Bonders and that their horses should be let loose. After hearing mass in the morning the king went to the Thing accompanied by a chief named Kolbein-the-strong who carried with him a great club. When the Thing was assembled "they saw a great crowd coming along and bearing among them a huge man's image glancing with gold and silver." As it approached, the king whispered to Kolbein, "If it come so in the course of my speech that the Bonders look another way than towards their idol, strike him as hard as thou canst with thy club." The king then stood up and spoke thus to Gudbrand: "Much hast thou talked to us this morning, and greatly hast thou wondered that thou canst not see our God, but Destruction of the image of Thor.

[1] The allusion is to the bishop's mitre.

[2] *Heimskringla*, ii. p. 158.

we expect that He will soon come to us. Thou would'st frighten us with thy god, who is both blind and deaf and can neither save himself nor others, and cannot even move about without being carried: but now I expect it will be a short time before he meets his fate, for turn your eyes towards the east, behold our God advancing in great light." As the people turned to look at the rising sun Kolbein struck the idol with such violence that it burst asunder and "there ran out of it mice as big almost as cats, and reptiles and adders." The Bonders, awestruck and frightened, ran for their ships and horses in order to flee from the scene, only to find that the first had been sunk and that the latter had run away, whereupon they returned to the spot where the Thing had assembled. When they had seated themselves again the king addressed them once more and said: "Ye see yourselves what your god can do . . . take now your gold and ornaments that are lying strewed about on the grass and give them to your wives and daughters, but never hang them hereafter upon stock or stone. Here are now two conditions between us to choose, either accept Christianity or fight this very day, and the victory be to them to whom the God we worship gives it."[1] Gudbrand confessed that the inability of their god to help them had been demonstrated, and the chronicler continues: "All received Christianity: the bishop baptized Gudbrand and his son: King Olaf and Bishop Sigurd left behind them teachers: they who met as enemies parted as friends, and Gudbrand built a church in the valley."[2] Similar scenes were enacted in one district

"All receive Christianity."

[1] *Heimskringla*, ii. p. 160.

[2] Id. ii. p. 160.

after another, as Olaf progressed from place to place, accompanied by Christian bishops. After referring to a battle which he fought with the people of Raumarige, the chronicler writes: "They were forced by this battle into a better disposition and immediately received Christianity, and the king scoured the whole district and did not leave it until all the people were made Christians. He then went east to Solöer and baptized that neighbourhood."[1]

It is doubtful whether the forcible conversion of a people to Christianity was ever carried out as completely and methodically in any other country as it was in Norway during the reign of Olaf.

The collapse of paganism, however, and the willingness on the part of the people as a whole to accept Christianity cannot be explained entirely by the fact that physical force was employed to hasten their conversion. They were partly due to the fact that there was no regular priesthood to defend idolatry or to organize opposition to the king. The priestly offices at the three annual festivals were performed by the heads of families or by the chiefs of the district. When therefore a chief allowed himself to be baptized it was natural that his people should follow his example, and if the chief of a district allowed the temple which was under his charge to be destroyed, there was no place left in which the worship of the heathen gods could take place. In Norway, to a greater extent than in any other European country, the sites or the buildings of heathen temples became the sites or buildings of Christian churches.

The collapse of paganism.

[1] *Heimskringla*, ii. p. 161.

The two Olafs.

The Icelandic monk Odd comparing the work accomplished by Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf Haraldson, says, "Olaf Tryggvason prepared and laid the foundation of Christianity, but St. Olaf built the walls; Olaf Tryggvason planted the vineyard, but St. Olaf trained up the vine covered with fair flowers and much fruit."

Olaf Haraldson's laws.

As soon as Olaf had succeeded in establishing Christianity as the national religion he summoned an assembly at which a code of laws was drawn up known as Olaf's Kristenret which was apparently the joint work of Olaf and Bishop Grimkil.[1] The law which related to the observance of heathen customs is of special interest from a missionary standpoint. It made no attempt to suppress the social customs connected with heathenism, but endeavoured to associate them with the observance of Christian customs. It directed that wherever three families could meet together and have a common feast the custom of drinking beer was to be observed, the beer having first been blessed "in honour of Christ and the Blessed Virgin for good years and peace." Fines were imposed in case of a breach of this law.[2] A step towards the abolition of slavery was made by the law which provided that, instead of offering a slave as a sacrifice at the meeting of a Thing one slave should be set free, and that one should be liberated every Christmas.

Missionaries from Bremen.

At some time during the archbishopric of Unwan of Bremen (1013 to 1029) Olaf applied for additional

[1] The original code has not been preserved, but the form which is extant and which dates from about the middle of the twelfth century embodies the code as promulgated by Olaf.

[2] See *Hist. of the Church and State in Norway*, Willson, p. 73.

missionaries. His reason for seeking to obtain them from Bremen rather than from England was probably that Canute who was his enemy was then in England. Adam of Bremen writes: "He (Olaf) sent also ambassadors to our archbishop with gifts praying that he would receive these bishops kindly and would send some of his own bishops to him, who should strengthen and confirm the rude Norwegians in the faith." We do not know whether this request was complied with, but apparently soon afterwards Olaf was himself a fugitive from Norway.

The first missionaries to Norway who came either from England or Germany to work under the bishops whom the two Olafs introduced were foreigners and would not have known the language of the people. The next generation of clergy were natives of the country who had been trained by them, and until 1100, when monasteries began to spread, these were probably men with very slender education. Later on there came a great improvement in the education of the clergy. Adam of Bremen, contrasting the condition of the people of Norway with its state in the old Viking days, writes, "After they received Christianity, being imbued with fuller knowledge, they have now learned to love peace and truth and to be content in their poverty . . . and although they had from the beginning all been enslaved by the evil arts of wizards, now with the apostle they in simplicity confess Christ and Him crucified. . . . In many places in Norway and Sweden those who tend the flocks are men even of the most noble rank, who, after the manner of the patriarchs, live by the work of their hands.

The effects of Christian teaching.

But all who dwell in Norway are altogether Christian (*Christianissimi*) with the exception of those who are far off beside the seas of the Arctic regions." [1]

Canute conquers Norway, 1026.

In 1026 Canute king of England and Denmark conquered Norway, and Olaf fled to Sweden and afterwards to Russia, where he was hospitably received by King Yaroslav,[2] who offered him the kingdom of Kazan to the east of the Volga, the inhabitants of which were heathen. Having been directed, however, as he believed in a vision to return to Norway, he refused the offer and set out to return. After reaching Norway he was joined by many of his former subjects and he succeeded in mustering an army of 3000 men. On making enquiry he found that 900 of these were heathen, whereupon he refused to allow any who had not been baptized to fight on his behalf. As a result 400 were baptized and confirmed and the others returned to their homes. Before the battle which ensued the king had a white cross painted on the helmets and shields of his soldiers and he said, "When we come into battle we shall all have one countersign and field-cry, 'Forward, forward, Christ-man, Cross-man, King's man!'" [3] He also "took many marks of silver and delivered them into the hands of a Bonder, and said, This money thou shalt conceal, and afterwards lay out, some to churches, some to priests, some to alms-men, as gifts for the life and souls of those who fight against us and may fall in battle." [4] The battle was fiercely contested, but Olaf, after killing many of his foes was himself killed, and his forces were dispersed. An

Death of Olaf in battle, 1030.

[1] *Descriptio insularum Aquilonis*, xxx., xxxi. See Migne, *P. L.* cxlvi. col. 647 f.

[2] *Heimskringla*, ii. p. 295.

[3] Id. pp. 309, 328.

[4] Id. p. 313.

eclipse of the sun which occurred during the course of the battle apparently fixes its date as August 31, 1030.[1] After the death of Olaf, Swend, a son of Canute, became ruler of Norway, but the severity of his rule and the taxes which he imposed soon rendered him unpopular, and so complete was the revulsion of feeling in favour of Olaf which occurred that he came eventually to be regarded as the patron saint of Norway. Churches were dedicated to him, not only in Norway but in England,[2] Ireland and elsewhere. Many miracles too were reported as having taken place at his tomb in Nidaros.[3] In 1035 Magnus the son of Olaf returned to Norway, and King Swend retired, without fighting, to Denmark where he died in the following year. Magnus reigned from 1035 to 1047. During his reign and the reigns of his immediate successors opposition to Christianity gradually died out; churches, schools and monasteries were built throughout the land and the new faith which the majority of the people had been forced to adopt began to be understood and to gain an influence over their lives. The establishment of the schools and monasteries brought about the substitution of the Roman alphabet for the old runic characters, and an advance in the knowledge of agriculture and of other useful arts. It was the influence of Christianity which, as Adam of Bremen tells us, caused the Norsemen to leave off their piratical expeditions and to love peace.[4]

King Swend.

King Magnus, 1035.

Establishment of schools and monasteries.

[1] The date given in the *Heimskringla* is July 29, 1033, but this is probably incorrect.

[2] There are three churches in London dedicated to him (St. Olave).

[3] Adam of Bremen writes concerning his tomb, "ubi usque hodie pluribus miraculis et sanitatibus quæ per eum fiunt, Dominus ostendere dignatus est quanti meriti sit in cœlis qui sic glorificatur in terris." *Hist.* c. 43.

[4] *De situ Daniæ*, c. 96.

In the establishment of Christianity throughout Norway, the monasteries played a part, although a less important part, than in many other countries.

The first monastery in Norway was apparently that founded by Canute on the island of Nidarholm (afterwards called Munkholm) near Nidaros shortly before the defeat and death of Olaf. This was served by English Benedictine monks. Other monasteries were established by Sigurd Jorsalfarer after his return from Palestine, the next monks to arrive after the Benedictines being Cistercians and Augustinians. The Dominican and Franciscan friars arrived in the following century. In 1152 the English Cardinal Nicholas Breakspeare, who subsequently became Pope, was sent as legate to Norway and as a result of his visit Nidaros was chosen as the metropolitan see of Norway and the Norwegian Church was brought into close touch with the papacy.

CHAPTER XVIII

SWEDEN

The iron age in Sweden, with which apparently commenced the worship of Thor, dates back to about 500 B.C. Later on the hammer, as a divine tool, was considered sacred, and with it brides and the bodies of the dead were consecrated: men also blessed with the sign of the hammer as Christians did with the sign of the Cross.[1] The worship of Odin, who came to be regarded as the god of wisdom and poetry, dates back to about the Christian era and was probably introduced from Denmark, or from the south Germanic races. As late as the eighth century human sacrifices were not unknown, and Domald, one of the Viking kings, is said to have been offered as a sacrifice to the gods by his subjects in the hope of obtaining relief from a long period of famine. Another king, "Ane the Old," is said to have purchased ten years of life by offering a son to Odin every ten years. When he reached the age of 110 and was about to sacrifice his last son, he was prevented by his subjects from doing so, whereupon he died. It was not till the ninth century was well advanced that the Christian peoples in Europe made an attempt to impart to the inhabitants of Sweden a knowledge of a higher faith. Referring to the long delay that occurred Bishop Wordsworth

Worship of Thor and Odin.

Human sacrifices.

[1] See Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 180 f. Eng. Tr.

Results of failure to evangelise Scandinavia.

writes, "The neglect of Scandinavia by the papacy and by the Christian Goths, Franks, Angles and Irish, was rewarded by the ravage and rapine of the Viking age, the horrible sufferings of many innocent men and women, the destruction, especially in the ninth century, of many churches, and of many treasures of literature and art which we should love to possess. The Viking Age continued until the North itself became Christian. . . . The neglect of the Scandinavian nations by their Christian neighbours brought disaster upon those who neglected them. That sure punishment of neglect of duty and opportunity falls upon nations and Churches as well as individuals, is one of the laws of God's kingdom." [1]

Introduction of Christianity, 829.

In 829 ambassadors from Sweden who had come to the court of the emperor on political business, suggested to him that many of their countrymen were favourably disposed towards Christianity and would gladly welcome Christian missionaries, if such could be sent to them. Christian merchants who had visited Sweden had in fact already sown the seeds of Christian knowledge, and Swedish merchants who had visited Dorstede (Doerstadt) had carried back to their fellow-countrymen further information in regard to the teachings of Christianity. Moreover some of the many slaves whom the Swedes had captured during their raids in Christian countries had taught their captors what they themselves knew concerning its doctrines, and thus had prepared the way for the reception of a Christian mission. Anskar,[2] on the invitation of the emperor,

[1] *The National Church of Sweden*, Bp. J. Wordsworth, pp. 30 f.

[2] For reference to the earlier missionary activities of Anskar see above, p. 438.

gladly undertook to go as a missionary to Sweden, and having entrusted his work in Denmark to a monk named Gislema, he embarked on a vessel sailing for Sweden accompanied by a monk named Witmar from New Corbie and carrying with him presents sent by the Emperor to the king of Sweden. His ship was attacked by pirates and the missionaries lost almost everything that they possessed. Their loss included forty books. They eventually arrived at Birka[1] on Lake Mälar near Sigtuna the ancient capital, where the king, Biorn, gave them permission to preach and to baptize all who were willing to become Christians. Their first congregation of Christians included a number of slaves who had been carried captive from their own lands. One of their first converts, however, was a man of rank[2] and a counsellor of the king, named Herigar, who built a church on his own estate. After spending a year and a half in Sweden Anskar returned in 831 and reported to the Emperor the work that had been accomplished and the encouraging prospect which had developed.

Anskar visits Sweden.

Herigar.

In order to promote the extension of Christian Missions in the countries which lay to the north of Germany, Louis determined to carry out a design formed by his father and to make Hamburg an archiepiscopal see and a centre for missionary operations in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Anskar was accordingly consecrated as archbishop of Hamburg[3] by Bishop Drogo of Mainz and shortly afterwards

Anskar becomes archbishop of Hamburg.

[1] The modern Biorko.

[2] "Præfectus vici ipsius et consiliarius regis." *Vita Anscharii*, 17.

[3] In 864 the two sees of Hamburg and Bremen were united. The residence of the archbishop was then fixed at Bremen. See below, p. 477.

paid a visit to Rome. On this occasion he received from Gregory IV the pall and a definite charge which was given to him and Archbishop Ebo of Rheims to preach the Gospel to the northern nations.[1] On his return from Rome he handed over the charge of the Swedish mission to Ebo's nephew Gautbert, who was consecrated as his coadjutor bishop, and at his consecration received the name of Simon.

Bishop Gautbert.

The new bishop received a hearty welcome from King Biorn and soon afterwards laid the foundation of a church at Sigtuna. He continued his missionary labours for about ten years, but in 845 a rising of the heathen against the Christians occurred and he was attacked, deprived of all that he possessed and driven out of the country. His nephew Nithard was murdered at the same time.

His expulsion from Sweden, 845.

Anskar's biographer tells a story relating to this time, which reminds us of what befell the Philistines during the sojourn of the Israelitish Ark in their midst, and at the same time illustrates the difficulty which the heathen found to distinguish between the character of the God of the Christians and that of their heathen deities. After the expulsion of Gautbert one of the heathen carried home a book belonging to the Christians. Soon afterwards he and his wife, his son and his daughter, died. His father finding that his property was rapidly diminishing, consulted a soothsayer and asked which of the gods he had offended. The soothsayer replied that he had not offended any of the gods of the country

Story of a Christian book.

[1] *Vita*, 20. The Pope at the same time added his curse upon any who should reject his preaching, "quolibet modo his sanctis studiis piisimi imperatoris insidiantem anathematis mucrone percussit atque perpetua ultione rerum diabolica sorte damnavit."

but that he had offended the God of the Christians and that "Christ" was the cause of his loss. He further suggested that there was something hidden in his house that had been dedicated to the service of Christ, and that he could not be delivered from his calamities as long as it remained in his house. Eager to avert complete ruin he called together his fellow-townsmen and, having explained to them what had happened, asked for their help. As no one was willing to receive the sacred book into his house, he covered it up and fastened it to a stake which he fixed in the public road, with a notice to the effect that anyone who wished might take it and that for the crime which he had committed against "the Lord Jesus Christ" he was willing to offer any satisfaction that might be asked. Eventually the book was removed by a Christian, and the man's fears were appeased.[1]

King Horick opposes the spread of Christianity.

After the expulsion of King Harald from Denmark and the accession of King Horick, who was strongly opposed to Christianity, missionary work in that country was for the time being interrupted. When, however, Anskar was established at Hamburg he began to purchase Danish, Norman and Slavonian boys, some of whom he retained with him, whilst he sent others to be educated at the monastery of Turholt between Bruges and Ypres. This monastery had been given him by the emperor as a source of revenue wherewith to maintain his missionary enterprises. He hoped that amongst these youths he might find those who would become missionaries to their fellow-countrymen. His work at Hamburg was however

[1] *Vita*, c. 24.

rudely interrupted. The Emperor Louis died in 840 and in 845 Eric king of Jutland at the head of an army of Northmen sacked and burned Hamburg and destroyed all Christian churches and other buildings both in Hamburg and in the surrounding district. A Christian library containing many books perished in the flames. Accompanied by a few clergy and scholars he wandered about for some time and at length found refuge on the estate of a noble lady called Ikia at Rameshoe (Ramsola) in the district of Holstein. From this place as a centre Anskar travelled for several years through his wasted diocese, in which the devastation wrought by the Northmen was such that the total number of churches was reduced to four.[1]

Destruction of Hamburg, 845.

But although the missionary work had received a serious set-back, good work had been accomplished which was afterwards to bear fruit. Archbishop Ebo, by whom Anskar was originally sent out as a missionary, said to him before his death: "I am assured that what we have begun to do on behalf of the name of Christ will bring forth fruit in the Lord, for it is my firm and settled belief, and I know assuredly, that although what we have undertaken to do among those nations meets for a time hindrances on account of our sins, yet it will not everywhere be altogether lost, but will thrive more and more by the grace of God, and will prosper till the name of the Lord extends to the extreme boundaries of the earth." [2]

Archbishop Ebo.

In August 845, soon after the destruction of Hamburg, Bishop Leuderich of Bremen died and the German

[1] "Non nisi quattuor baptismales habebat ecclesias diœcesis, et hæc ipsa multoties jam barbarorum incursionibus devastata." *Vita*, c. 22.

[2] *Vita*, c. 56.

King Louis expressed a desire to appoint Anskar to the vacant see. This was eventually accomplished in 849. As soon as Anskar became bishop of Bremen and obtained the means wherewith to support the missionaries whom he wished to send, he despatched (in 851) a hermit named Ardgar to Sweden. Ardgar received a welcome from Herigar, who induced the king, the successor of Biorn, to sanction the preaching of Christianity. During the seven years that had elapsed since the expulsion of Gautbert Herigar had consistently maintained his profession of Christianity and had tried to influence his countrymen in its favour. On one occasion when the town of Birka was attacked by Danes and Swedes under the command of Avoundus, a king of Sweden who had been expelled from his country, the inhabitants consulted their heathen priests and offered sacrifices to their gods, but failed to obtain any encouraging replies. At this crisis Herigar intervened, and, after pointing out the inability of their national gods to come to their assistance, he urged that they should make a solemn vow of obedience to the God of the Christians, and assured them that if they did so He would aid them against their enemies. The people accordingly went forth to an open plain and solemnly vowed to keep a fast to "the Lord Christ" and to give alms if He would liberate them from their enemies.[1] Their deliverance came about in the following way. Whilst his army was waiting for the signal to advance, the king, Avoundus, suggested that lots should be cast in order to ascertain whether it

The hermit Ardgar, 851.

Influence exerted by Herigar.

Attack on Birka averted.

[1] *Vita*, c. 29. "Exeuntes sicut ibi consuetudinis erat, in campum pro liberatione sibi jejunium et eleemosynas domino Christo devoverunt."

was the will of the gods that Birka should be destroyed. "There are," he said, "many great and powerful deities there, there also a church was formerly built, and even now the worship of Christ is observed by many Christians, and He is more powerful than other gods, and is ever ready to aid those that put their trust in Him. We ought then to inquire whether it be the divine will that we attack the place."[1] When the lots were cast the auspices were unfavourable for the attack and Birka was delivered. After the death of Herigar, Ardgar, who pined for the hermit life which he had forsaken, returned from Sweden in 852, after spending less than two years in that country. On his return Anskar tried to induce Gautbert to resume his former work in Sweden and when he refused he himself set out for Birka. He arrived in 853 at a time when the feelings of the people had been greatly excited against Christianity and in favour of their national religion, but, nothing daunted by their hostility, he asked King Olaf to a banquet and, after presenting him with gifts which he had brought from King Horick, invited him to declare himself in favour of the Christian religion. The king replied that an assembly of the people must be called and that their gods must be consulted by casting lots in order to ascertain what ought to be done.

Anskar revisits Sweden.

A national assembly.

When the lots were cast the answer obtained was favourable to the request which the missionaries had made. A proposal was accordingly put before the assembly that Christianity should be accepted as the religion of the country. While discussion was pro-

[1] *Vita*, c. 30.

ceeding and it seemed uncertain what the vote of the assembly would be an old man stood forward and said: "Hear me O king and people: concerning the worship of this God it is already known to many of us that He can be of great help to those who hope in Him, for many of us have had experience of this in dangers at sea and in manifold straits. Why then should we spurn what is necessary and useful to us? Once several of us, perceiving that this form of religion would profit us, travelled to Dorstede, and there embraced it uninvited. . . . Why then should we not embrace what we once felt constrained to seek in distant parts, now that it is offered at our doors? . . . Now that we cannot secure the favour of our own gods, surely it is a good thing to enjoy the favour of this God who, always and at all times, can and will aid those that call upon Him." [1]

Its acknowledgment of the Christians' God.

The resolution in favour of acknowledging the Christians' God which the assembly subsequently passed bound only the inhabitants of Gothenland, but similar resolutions were subsequently passed in other parts of Sweden. After leaving a companion named Erimbert to superintend the Mission Anskar returned to Hamburg in 854. He died at Bremen [2] in 865.

Erimbert.

For seventy years after the death of Anskar hardly anything was done to extend missionary work throughout Sweden. Rimbert his successor and biographer during the twenty years of his episcopate (865–888) paid several visits both to Sweden and Denmark, but the political conditions which prevailed rendered mis-

Rimbert.

[1] *Vita*, c. 48.

[2] See above, p. 440.

sionary enterprise difficult. In his efforts to ransom Christians who had been carried captive by pagans from the north he parted with the gold and silver vessels belonging to his church. Unni, a successor of Rimbert, visited Sweden on more than one occasion and died at Birka in 936. His successor Adaldag ordained as bishop a Dane named Odinkar for Sweden, but it is doubtful whether the work of the latter extended beyond Birka.

Unni.

Odinkar.

King Olof. The first Christian king of Sweden was Olof Skötkonung usually called the Lap-king, who reigned from 993 to 1024. According to Swedish tradition he was baptized by Bishop Sigfrid at the well of Husaby near Skara in 1008. Sigfrid was almost certainly an Englishman[1] and is probably to be identified with Sigurd who was associated with Olaf Tryggvason.[2]

Bishop Sigfrid.

According to Adam of Bremen he "preached alike to Swedes and Northmen."[3] He apparently acted also as a missionary in the district of Verend in Smaland, where he is venerated as the founder of the Church in Wexio.

The Church in West Gotland. In regard to the establishment of Christianity in West Gotland we have a definite and trustworthy statement by Adam of Bremen. He writes: "Olaf is said to have been eminent in Sweden for a like love of religion. In his desire to convert his subjects to Christianity, he laboured with great zeal to effect the destruction of the idol temple which is in the middle of Sweden at Ubsola. The heathen, fearing his intention, are said to have passed a statute (*placitum*)

[1] A late tradition represents him as archdeacon of York.

[2] See *The N. Ch. of Sweden*, Wordsworth, p. 72 f.

[3] Adam Brem. c. 242. Migne, *P. L.* cxlvi. col. 651.

together with their king that if he wished to be a Christian he should hold as his own the best district of Sweden, wherever he desired to live, and might there establish a Church and Christianity, but should not use force to make any of the people give up the worship of the gods, and only admit such as wished of their own free will to be converted to Christ. The king, gladly accepting this statute, soon founded a church to God and a bishop's seat in West Gotland, which is close to the Danes or Norwegians. This is the great city of Skara, for which, on the petition of the most Christian king Olaf, Thurgot was first ordained by Archbishop Unwan (1013–1029). He vigorously discharged his mission among the Gentiles and by his labour gained to Christ the two noble peoples of the Goths." [1]

Bishop Thurgot, 1013.

During the reign of his successor Anund Jakob, Christianity spread throughout a large part of Sweden [2] and in 1030 Gotescalk was consecrated by the Archbishop of Bremen as the second bishop of Skara. Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen (1045–1072) consecrated five bishops for Sweden, including John the monk bishop of Birka,[3] the latter being the first monk who is referred to as having worked in Sweden since the time of Anskar. One of these bishops Adalward the younger made many converts in the city of Sigtuna and its neighbourhood and tried to destroy idolatry at Upsala.[4] Another named Simon or Stenfi preached to the Scritefinni, or Skating Finns, or Lapps, in the far north, who, according to Adam of Bremen, could

Spread of Christianity throughout Sweden.

Bishop Adalward.

A mission to the Lapps.

[1] Adam Brem. c. 94. Migne, *P. L.* cxlvi. col. 541.

[2] Adam Brem. c. 107.

[3] Id. c. 206.

[4] Id. c. 237.

outrace on their snow-shoes the wild beasts of the country.[1] He is venerated as St. Staffan. Stenkil, who became king in 1066, was urged by the bishops to use force in order to spread the Christian faith and eradicate idolatry, but to this request he refused to accede.[2] His son Inge, who succeeded him in 1080, lacked the wisdom of his father, and having abolished the heathen sacrifices in Svithiod and having ordered all the inhabitants to be baptized, was pelted with stones and obliged for a time to abdicate his throne. This use of force to compel the acceptance of baptism stands almost by itself in Swedish history. The forcible conversion of Smaland was the work of a Norwegian king Sigurd (1121–1130). After three years Inge recovered his throne, but he refrained from destroying the temple at Upsala. A later king, Sverker, laid the foundations of the old Upsala cathedral in 1138 and used in its construction the materials of the heathen temple.

King Inge, 1080.

The conversion of Smaland.

Upsala cathedral, 1138.

In 1066 a pagan reaction had taken place at Bremen which had forced Adalbert to flee, and he had died in 1072. About this time Eskil an Englishman, who was consecrated by St. Sigfrid as bishop of Strengnäs, preached as a missionary in Sodermanland. When Blot-Sven the brother-in-law of King Inge came to Strengnäs to offer a sacrifice, the bishop is said to have prayed to God to grant a sign from heaven and as a result of his prayer a storm of thunder, hail, snow and rain overwhelmed the assembly and overturned the pagan altar, at which the heathen were so enraged that they murdered the bishop. His martyrdom is

Bishop Eskil in Sodermanland.

[1] Adam Brem., c. 232. [2] Id. c. 238.

celebrated on June 12, but the year of his death is uncertain. Towards the end of the eleventh century three Englishmen in succession became bishops of Skara, Rodulward, Ricolf and Edward. Another Englishman, a monk named David, the founder of the see of Vesteras in Vestermanland, is said to have been martyred in 1082.

Three English bishops.

St. Botvid the first native Swedish missionary, who was baptized in England, also suffered as a martyr about this time. The town of Botkyrka is named after him.

St. Botvid.

By about the year 1130, that is 300 years after the mission of Anskar, Sweden as a whole had become a Christian country. About 1150 the Swedish king asked the Pope to give the Swedish people a primate and the English Cardinal Breakspeare, who afterwards became Pope Adrian IV, was sent to Sweden in compliance with this request. At the Synod of Linköping, held in 1152, it was decided that the Swedes should pay an annual tax to the Pope. Bishop Wordsworth suggests that the absence of any reference to the celibacy of the clergy at this synod was a matter of arrangement between the Pope's legate and the Swedish bishops, the acceptance of Peter's Pence being the price paid for this silence. In 1213 the clergy of Sweden were publicly married and claimed to have a privilege from the Pope for this indulgence.[1]

Synod of Linköping, 1152.

Monasticism was apparently not introduced into Sweden till the twelfth century, the first Swedish monastery being founded at Alvastra in East Gotland in 1143. A year later one was founded at Nydala in

Monasticism in Sweden.

[1] *The National Church of Sweden*, pp. 109, 114.

Smaland and within a few years every large district in Sweden possessed one or more monasteries.

The island of Gotland.

Christianity was introduced into the island of Gotland early in the tenth century, but nothing is known concerning its earliest missionaries. Traces of a church which may date as far back as 900 have been found at Visby in Gotland.

CHAPTER XIX

RUSSIA

Religion and politics in Russia.

THERE is no country other than Russia in which national and religious aspirations have been so completely identified and the national life of which has been so inseparably connected with its religion.[1] As a present-day illustration of this statement we may point to the fact that down to the time of the recent Revolution all the chief government offices in Petrograd had churches or chapels attached in which prayers were constantly offered that the blessing of God might rest upon the work which was being transacted in them. Ever since the time of Vladimir religion has been a dominant factor in the evolution of Russian life and character, and he who would forecast the future development of Russia must first strive to understand and to breathe the spiritual atmosphere in which its peoples live. As a step towards the accomplishment of this difficult task, he would do well to study carefully the conditions under which the Russians accepted the Christian faith and the story of the missionaries who first sought to evangelize their country.[2]

[1] M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu writes, "The Church is to them (the Russians) a part of Russia, first and foremost a national institution . . . and not only has it helped to mould the nation and make Russia, but to this day it is the cement that holds both together." *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians*, Eng. ed., vol. iv. p. 45.

[2] The Metropolitan of Kiev, in the course of a letter addressed to the

Russia received its Christianity from Constantinople.

It was for Russia an event of far-reaching significance that the Christianity which it received came to it from Constantinople and not from Rome, and the whole subsequent development of religion in Russia has been conditioned by this fact. Discussing the advantages and disadvantages which accrued therefrom, the French historian, M. Rambaud, writes:

"Without doubt a church language which, thanks to Cyril and Methodius, blended with the national language and became intelligible to all classes of society, and a church that was purely national and did not receive the word of command from a stranger chief, being altogether independent of the civil powers and developing on national lines, these were the untold advantages which Byzantine Christianity brought to Russia."[1]

He goes on to point out that over against these advantages must be set the fact that in the time of her national peril, when attacked and overrun by the Mongols, there was no one to raise the Christian powers of Europe in her defence, as was the case when Spain was attacked by the Moors, or when Hungary was attacked by the Turks.[2] Regret has sometimes been

Archbishop of Canterbury in 1888, wrote: "I offer you, beloved brother, sincere thanks on behalf both of myself and of all the Russians that were at Kiev at the celebration of the 900th anniversary of the baptism of Russia into the Christian faith for your loving letter of congratulation. . . . Your Grace rightly says that Russia is indebted for her power and the position which she holds amongst Christian nations not only to the wisdom of her rulers and the inborn strength of her people, but also to the fact that our branch of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church has grown up together with our nation, and that the Christian faith has illuminated it through nine long centuries of history."

[1] *Histoire de la Russie*, p. 69.

[2] Pope Innocent IV wrote to David of Galich in Southern Russia suggesting a united crusade against the Mongols on condition that the Russian Church should accept the

expressed that at a critical stage in the development of Russian history its people came under the influence of the decadent Greek power and of the representatives of a Church which has been more distinguished by its punctilious orthodoxy than by a strenuous activity displayed in efforts to ameliorate the conditions under which its adherents have lived. It is impossible to imagine what political and social conditions would prevail in Russia to-day if Vladimir had accepted the overtures of the bishop of Rome, and if the subsequent development of the religious history of Russia had been influenced by Western teachers and Western theology.

The *Russian Chronicle.*

Our chief authority for the story of the introduction of Christianity into Russia[1] is the *Russian Chronicle*, the earliest section of which was for a long time believed to have been compiled by a monk named Nestor, who was born about 1056 and has been called the "Father of Russian history." He was an inmate of the monastery of Petchersky at Kiev, and, as his editing of the *Chronicle* apparently ended in 1106, this year is supposed to have been the date of his death. From 1116 to 1124 the *Chronicle* was edited by Silvester, abbot of the Viebuditski monastery in Kiev. It was subsequently continued by a number of anonymous monks.[2]

supremacy of the Pope. David refused but suggested referring the matter to an ecumenical council. See Mouravieff, *History of the Russian Church*, Eng. ed., p. 46.

[1] The name Russia is probably derived from the Finnish Ruotsi, a name given by the Finns to the Swedes, and is a corruption of part of a word (Rothskarlar) meaning rowers and representing a seafaring race.

[2] Professor Kluchevsky, after a full discussion of the available evidence (see *History of Russia*, translated by C. J. Hogarth, i. pp. 2-28), arrives at the conclusion that the work of

Legends concerning St. Andrew.

The legend that the Apostle Andrew preached at Kiev [1] has no historical foundation and is of comparatively late origin. The tradition as recorded by the Chronicler has, however, gained so wide a currency that it is worth repeating.[2] When St. Andrew, the Apostle of Scythia, ascending the river Dnieper on his way from Sinope to Rome, beheld the heights of Kiev, he exclaimed, "See you those hills? The grace of God shall enlighten them. There shall be a great city and God shall cause many churches there to be built." Then he climbed these heights and blessed them and set up a cross and prayed to God.

The first attempts to introduce Christianity into any part of Russia date from the time of the Varangian [3] prince, Rurik (d. 879), who was himself a Norseman.

Nestor was so largely re-edited and expanded by Silvester that the latter ought to be regarded as the author of that part of the *Chronicle* to which the name of Nestor has been attached. Of this portion of the *Chronicle* there are two versions which differ considerably from each other: the earlier being the recension made by the monk Laurentius in 1377, whilst the later one, the Ipatievski, was transcribed about the end of the fourteenth century. The *Chronicle* was translated into German by Schlözer and published at Göttingen in 5 vols. in 1802, and has twice been edited and published in French, in 1834, and again by M. L. Leger in 1884. The *Chronicle* is of great historical value, and although in the sections which relate to the introduction of Christianity into Russia it is possible to detect a few chronological errors, there is good reason to believe that the greater part of the contents of the chronicles are true to history.

[1] The old Russian capital has been variously spelt in English as Kiev, Kieff, Kief and Kiew, but the first of these is nearest to the original.

[2] *Chronique dite de Nestor*, ed. Leger, pp. 5 f.; *Nestor's Annals*, ed. Schlözer, ii. p. 93. The tradition probably originated in the statement made by Eusebius that "Andrew received Scythia," εἴληχεν Ἀνδρέας Σκυθίαν, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 1.

[3] Of the Varangians who during the succeeding centuries formed so large a section of the military and trading classes Kluchevsky writes: "All the signs point to the fact that these Baltic Varangians . . . were Scandinavians and not Slavonic inhabitants either of the South Baltic seaboard or of what now constitutes South Russia." Id. i. p. 58.

According to Russian tradition, the first Russians to embrace Christianity were Askold and Dir, two princes of Kiev. In A.D. 860 [1] these appeared in two hundred armed vessels at Constantinople, and threw its inhabitants into great alarm, whereupon—to quote the words of the Russian chronicler—

Askold and Dir, 860.

"The Emperor, together with the Patriarch Photius, betook themselves to the church of the Mother of God in Blacherna. Here they spent the whole night in prayer, then they took the divine robe of the Mother of God from the church with song and lamentation, to the edge of the sea and plunged it in the water. Up to this time the wind had been still, but now a violent storm suddenly arose which stirred up the sea, and the ships of the godless Russians were broken and thrown on the beach. Only a few escaped misfortune and returned awestruck to their homes." [2]

Their repulse from Constantinople.

This tradition is embodied in an anthem in honour of the holy Virgin, who is described as a victorious general, which is used daily in the Russian liturgy.[3] The attack made by Askold and Dir is historical, but it is doubtful whether there is any substratum of truth in their alleged conversion to Christianity.

In a letter written by the Greek Patriarch Photius in 866 and directed against the Latin Church he says that the people called Russians, who had hitherto been noted for their barbarism and cruelty, had abandoned their idolatry, accepted Christianity and

Statement by Photius, 866.

[1] The Chronicler gives the date as 866, but modern Russian historians are agreed that the date given above is the correct one. See Kluchevsky, i. p. 20.

[2] *Chronique dite de Nestor*, p. 16; *Nestor's Annals*, Schlözer, ii. pp. 223 f.

[3] *τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατήγῳ τὰ νικητήρια.* The hymn concludes the first hour in the daily matins of the Greek Church.

allowed a Christian bishop to be placed over them.[1] This statement of Photius, which is certainly incorrect, is based upon the alleged conversion of Askold and Dir at Contsantinople. The commercial intercourse that existed between Russia and the Greek Empire during the ninth and tenth centuries must have familiarized many Russians with Christian teaching and customs.[2] Rurik died in 879 after a reign of seventeen years and was succeeded by Oleg who acted as the guardian of his young son Igor. He reigned for thirty-three years and was succeeded by Igor. In 941 Igor undertook expeditions against Constantinople and devastated the provinces of Pontus, Paphlagonia and Bithynia, destroying numerous Christian churches and monasteries. In a treaty of peace which he eventually concluded with the Greek emperors in 945, reference is made to the existence of a church of the Prophet Elias in Kiev. The Chronicler states that the Russians who had been baptized before the cross in the church of the holy Prophet Elias swore to keep all that was contained in the treaty, whilst those who were not baptized took an oath on their swords and other weapons of war.[3] It is interesting to note, as

Igor, 941.

A church of Elias at Kiev.

[1] *Photii Epistolæ*, xiii. See Migne, *P. Gr.* cii. col. 735.

[2] Constantine Porphyrogenitus and other Greek annalists relate that in the lifetime of Askold a bishop was sent to the Russians by the Emperor Basil. In Codinus' list of sees subject to the patriarch of Constantinople the metropolitical see of Russia appears as early as 891.

[3] The words of the Chronicler are, "If any Russians who have received baptism try to disturb the friendship let them be punished by Almighty God . . . if any (do so) who are not baptized let them not receive help either from God or from Perun. . . . If any prince or people of Russia violate that which is written on this paper let him die by his own weapons and let him be cursed by God and by Perun because he has broken his oath." *Chronique de Nestor*, pp. 39, 41. There was also a church dedicated to the Prophet Elias in Constantinople. M. L. Leger in his

indicating the origin of the principal Russian families in Kiev, that of the fifty names appended to this treaty only three are Slavonic, whilst the rest are Norse.

Igor was killed fighting against the Dereviech soon after the signing of the treaty, after he had reigned for thirty-two years.

Visit of Olga to Constantinople, 955.

The first account of the introduction of Christianity into Russia which is certainly historical dates from A.D. 955. In this year Olga,[1] the widow of Igor, prince of Kiev, who acted as regent during the minority of her son Sviatoslav, and who, it appears, had already been influenced by Christian teaching, started with a numerous retinue for Constantinople, where she embraced the Christian faith and was baptized by the Patriarch Polyeuctes by the name of Helena, the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus becoming her godfather. On her return to Kiev, accompanied by a priest named Gregory, she endeavoured, but without success, to induce her son Sviatoslav to accept the new faith.[2]

Sviatoslav.

It was this prince who began the fatal custom of breaking up the Russian territory into sections so that each of his sons might become an independent

work, *La Mythologie slave* (pp. 54-76), gives an account of the worship of Perun, who was regarded as the god of thunder and storm. By the early Slavonic Christians the attributes ascribed to Perun were transferred to the Prophet Elijah. The latter is regarded by Russians, Bulgarians and Slovenes as the saint who presides over thunder, rain and wind.

[1] For a detailed account of the ceremonies connected with the baptism of Olga see Karamsin, i. pp. 206-9.

[2] The Chronicler writes concerning Olga: "She was the forerunner of Christianity in Russia, as the dawn is the forerunner of the sun. . . . As the moon shines at midnight, she shone in the midst of a pagan people. She was like a pearl in the midst of mire, for the people were in the mire of their sins and had not yet been purified by baptism." *Chronique de Nestor*, c. xxxiv. p. 54.

ruler. His action paved the way for the invasion of Russia by the Mongols, who held it for two centuries and left their mark upon all its subsequent history.

Whilst, however, Olga failed to effect the conversion of her son, her efforts to influence her grandson Vladimir met with a larger measure of success. Although Vladimir was destined to be canonized as a saint, his character during a considerable part of his reign left much to be desired. Soon after his accession he murdered his brother Yaropolk (980) and seized his territories, adding to his own dominions also Galicia and parts of Lithuania and Livonia. After he had committed many acts of cruelty and debauchery[1] his character, or at any rate his religious aspirations, underwent a great change.

Accession of Vladimir, 980.

His support of paganism.

During the early part of his reign he had been a strenuous supporter of paganism, and had erected near his palace at Kiev an image of Perun "with a silver head and golden beard," together with images of five other gods,[2] to which, according to the statement of the Chronicler, the people "offered in sacrifice their sons and their daughters." To quote the words of a modern Russian writer—"The chief deity (of Russian mythology), the angry and jealous Perun, appears as a 'centre of crystallization' for various conceptions concerning the creative powers and processes of nature

The Russian god Perun.

[1] He had 800 concubines—300 at Vyshegorod, 300 at Bielgorod and 200 at Berestovo. *Chronique de Nestor*, p. 65.

[2] The names given by the Chronicler are Khors, Dajbog, Strybog, Simargl and Mokoch. See *Chronique de Nestor*, p. 64; Karamsin, i. p. 251. Procopius (*De bello Gothico*, iii. 14) writing in the sixth century and Helmhold writing in the twelfth century state that the Slavs believed in the existence of one supreme God who did not, however, concern himself with human affairs, but their statements do not appear to admit of verification.

connected with thunder-storms and thunder-showers, and even embracing some elements of culture: thus vivifying fire could be obtained, according to tradition, from the oak tree which was sacred to Perun: oaths were tendered in his name, and so on. . . . Even in our own times some Russian peasants, for instance in the government of Rskof, mention Perun in their oaths."[1] The only martyrs of whom record exists, who suffered during Vladimir's reign (who were afterwards known as Theodore and John), were apparently Norsemen. They were put to death by the fury of the people, because one of them, from natural affection, had refused to give up his son when he had been devoted by Vladimir to be offered as a sacrifice to Perun.[2]

Two martyrs, Theodore and John.

In 986, according to the Chronicler,[3] envoys who represented the adherents of four different religions or forms of religion came to Vladimir. The first to arrive, who were Bulgarian Moslems from the neighbourhood of the Volga, said to him, "Wise and prudent prince as thou art, thou hast no religion. Take our religion and render homage to Mohammed." "What is your faith?" asked Vladimir. They replied that they believed in God and accepted Mohammed's commands to observe circumcision and to abstain from pork and wine, and they believed that after death Mohammed would give to every man the choice of a

Religious envoys visit Vladimir, 986.

The Moslems.

[1] See art. by Lappo-Danilevsky in *Russian Realities and Problems*, p. 157.

[2] *Chronique de Nestor*, p. 67; Karamsin, i. p. 254; Mouravieff, p. 355. The occasion referred to was the celebration of a victory which Vladimir won in 983 over the Yatvagers, a Finnish tribe, of whose land he took possession.

[3] The "Legend of the Conversion" of Vladimir appears to have been incorporated into the Chronicle from an early life of Vladimir. See Kluchevsky, pp. 12 f.

wife amongst seventy beautiful women. This last statement, says the Chronicler, attracted Vladimir, "for he loved debauchery," but the suggestions in regard to circumcision and abstinence from pork and wine displeased him. He said, "We Russians cannot live without drinking."

The Romans.

Next came representatives from Rome,[1] who said, "We have been sent by the Pope who has commanded us to say: Your country is like our country, but your faith is not like our faith, for our faith is the light: we adore God who has made the heaven, the earth and the stars, the moon and all creatures, whilst your gods are made of wood." "What are your commandments?" asked Vladimir. They replied, "To fast according to our ability, to eat or drink always to the glory of God as our Master Paul said." "Begone," said Vladimir, "our ancestors did not accept this (commandment)."

The Jews.

Then came Jews who lived amongst the Khozars in the Crimea and said to Vladimir, "We have heard that Bulgarians and Christians have come to inform you of their faith. The Christians believe in Him whom we have crucified; as for us, we believe in one God, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob." Vladimir asked, "What are your observances?" Their representatives replied, "Circumcision, abstinence from pork and hare, and the observance of the sabbath." "Where is your country?" he asked. They replied, "At Jerusalem." "Do you live there now?" he added. They answered, "God was angry with our fathers and

[1] The word "niemtsi" (*i.e.* dumb) used by the Chronicler was used by the Russians of strangers generally, but was most commonly applied to Germans, for whom it is still the Russian name.

has scattered us throughout the world for our sins, and our country has been given over to the Christians." He replied, "How is it that you teach others, you who have been rejected and scattered in strange lands? Do you wish that this evil should come upon us also?"

A Greek philosopher.

The representative of yet another form of religion appeared at the court of Vladimir, viz. a philosopher sent by Greeks, who said to him, "We have heard that Bulgarians have come to invite you to accept their faith, a faith which defiles heaven and earth; they are accursed more than any other nation and are like to Sodom and Gomorrah." The description which the Greek proceeded to give concerning the habits of the Bulgarians caused Vladimir to spit on the ground and to say, "This is an abomination." The philosopher then continued, "We have heard that men have come from Rome to teach you their faith: there is no great difference between their faith and ours." He then proceeded to explain that by withholding the wine from lay communicants the Romans had acted contrary to the directions given by Christ Himself. Vladimir said, "Jews have come and have said to me, 'The Germans and the Greeks believe in Him whom we have crucified.'" The Greek philosopher answered that what the Jews said was true, and that as a punishment for their evil conduct God had sent the Romans to destroy their cities and to disperse them throughout the world. Vladimir asked again, "Why did God descend upon earth, and did He endure such a martyrdom?" In response to this inquiry the Greek philosopher gave to Vladimir a brief résumé of the world's history as narrated in

Vladimir's questions.

the Old Testament and in the Gospels, and having explained to him the nature of the Christian faith, he went on to describe the future judgment and the pains of hell reserved for sinners. He then displayed a picture representing the separation of the just and the unjust and the entry of the just into paradise.[1] Vladimir sighed as he beheld the lot of those who were placed on the left hand of the judgment-seat, whereupon the Greek philosopher said to him, "If you would be on the right hand with the just, be baptized." Vladimir replied, "I will wait a little, for I desire to meditate upon all the faiths."

A council of *boyars*, 987.

In the following year (987) Vladimir called a council of his *boyars*, and having told them what the representatives of the different religions had said, asked their advice. They replied, "If you desire to be enlightened, send some of your men to study the different religions and to see how each (race) worships God."

Dispatch of envoys.

Envoys were accordingly dispatched, and on their return they reported their experiences to the *boyars*. Concerning the Moslems in Bulgaria they reported that "in their temples they bow and sit down, looking about them as though they were possessed, and they have no joy, but sadness, and a horrible stench." "Their religion," they said, "is not good." Of the Germans, that is the Romans, they said, "We have seen them perform their service in their church and we have seen nothing that is beautiful." On the

[1] Methodius is reported to have effected the conversion of Boris (Bogoris), king of Bulgaria, by painting a picture of the Last Judgment. If this tradition be correct the use of ikons, or sacred pictures, which is universal in Russia to-day, is to be dated back to the introduction of Christianity into that country. For an account of the use of ikons in the seventeenth century see *Travels of Macarius*, vol. ii. p. 49.

other hand words failed to express the impression which had been made upon them by their experiences in Constantinople. As soon as their arrival became known to the Emperor Basil he sent to the patriarch saying, "Russians have come to study our faith, make ready the church and your clergy and put on your pontifical robes that they may see the glory of our God." The Emperor himself, moreover, escorted them to St. Sophia. Of the service at which they were present they afterwards reported: "We knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth, for there is no similar sight upon earth nor is there such beauty. We cannot describe it, but we only know that it is there 'that God dwells with men.'" Having heard their report the *boyars* said to Vladimir, "If the Greek religion were bad, your grandmother Olga, who was wiser than all, would not have received it"; whereupon Vladimir simply replied, "Where then shall we receive baptism?"

Their visit to Constantinople.

Although the story of the conversion of Vladimir as given by the Chronicler[1] has been idealized, there is no reason to doubt that it contains historical truth, and the details supplied by the Chronicler are of interest as illustrating the accepted belief of the Russian Church concerning the establishment of Christianity in their country.

Vladimir decides to accept Christianity.

Now that Vladimir had at length decided to seek Christian baptism the question presented itself, where and by whom should he be baptized? The Russian historian, Karamsin, writes:

"It would have been very easy for Vladimir to be

[1] *Chronique de Nestor*, pp. 69-90.

baptized in his own capital where there had for a long time been churches and Christian priests, but this magnificent prince desired *éclat* . . . the Greek emperors and patriarchs seemed to him to be alone worthy to give to his whole people the dogmas of a new religion. On the other hand the proud and mighty Vladimir would have to humble himself before the Greeks by acknowledging what were in their eyes the errors of idolatry and by humbly asking baptism at their hands. Accordingly he formed the project of conquering, so to speak, the Christian religion and of receiving its sacred dogmas as the price of victory." [1]

He attacks Kherson, 988.

It was apparently with thoughts such as these in his mind that in 988 he embarked his numerous army and sailed to attack Kherson in the Crimea which belonged to the Greek emperors. After he had besieged it for a long time, but without success, a priest in the town named Anastasius shot an arrow into his camp to which was attached a letter advising him to cut the subterranean canal that supplied Kherson with water. On receipt of this letter Vladimir vowed that if he captured Kherson he would be baptized. He captured it forthwith and thereupon sent to demand of the two emperors, Basil and Constantine, the hand of their sister Anna in marriage, threatening an attack upon Constantinople in the event of his request being refused. The princess, whose sister Theophano had already become the wife of the German emperor Otto, agreed, albeit with great reluctance, to become his wife, and, accompanied by a body of clergy, sailed for Kherson, where the baptism of Vladimir took

Baptism of Vladimir.

[1] Karamsin, i. pp. 264 f.

place. His baptism was followed immediately by that of many of his princes and suite. After building a church in Kherson and restoring the city to the Greek emperors he returned to Kiev, taking with him the relics of St. Clement of Rome and those of his disciple Thebas, together with "church vessels and ornaments and ikons." On reaching Kiev he caused his twelve sons to be baptized and then proceeded to destroy the idols which the city contained. The principal idol Perun[1] was thrown into the Dnieper. He then issued a proclamation commanding his people to assemble on the banks of the river Dnieper in order that they might receive Christian baptism. His proclamation stated that "whoever on the morrow does not repair to the river to be baptized, whether rich or poor, will incur my disfavour." On the morrow there assembled an innumerable multitude of the people, together with their wives and children, and were baptized by the Greek bishops and priests who had come with Vladimir to Kiev. The Chronicler writes:

Baptisms at Kiev.

"Some were up to their necks in the water, others up to their breasts, the youngest were on the bank, men held their children, the adults were altogether in the water and the priests stood and said the prayers, and there was joy in heaven and on earth at the sight of so many souls who were saved."

Description of the baptismal service.

On this occasion the demon of the river was heard groaning and bewailing his expulsion from the place in which he had so long resided. The prayer which the Chronicler makes Vladimir utter on this occasion reads:[2]

[1] See above, p. 492. For an account of the religious beliefs and practices of the Eastern Slavonians see Kluchevsky, i. pp. 43 ff.; also *La Mythologie Slave*, by Louis Leger.

[2] *Chronique de Nestor*, p. 98.

"O God, creator of heaven and earth, look upon this Thy new people, and grant them to know Thee as the true God, as Thou hast been made known to Christian lands. Strengthen and confirm in them the true faith; assist me against the attacks of the enemy, and enable me to triumph over his malice, trusting in Thee and in Thy Kingdom."

Erection of churches at Kiev.

Vladimir subsequently erected a wooden church dedicated to St. Basil on the spot on which the idol Perun had stood and which adjoined his palace. At the same time he sent to Constantinople for builders, by whose assistance he erected on the site where the two martyrs had died a stone church dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

The majority of the inhabitants of Kiev consented to receive baptism, and it should be recorded to the credit of Vladimir that he made no attempt to compel those who persisted in their heathenism to become Christians.

"He did not wish," writes Karamsin, "to tyrannize over their consciences but adopted the wisest course of destroying the errors of idolatry, and applied himself to enlighten the Russians in order to establish the bases of religion upon the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, which had been translated into Slavonic in the ninth century by Cyril and Methodius[1] and had doubtless been known for a long time to the Christians of Kiev."[2]

Compulsory education.

The only force that he employed was used to compel scholars to attend the schools which he established.

[1] The oldest MS. of the whole Bible is dated 1499, but there are many MSS. of the New Testament of different recensions dating back to the eleventh century.

[2] Karamsin, i. p. 272.

In many cases the mothers of these scholars regarded the invention of writing as the most dangerous form of sorcery and did their best to prevent their sons from being bewitched by learning to read or write. When they were forced to attend school their mothers "lamented for them as for the dead." [1]

Christianity having been firmly established in Kiev, bishops and clergy, accompanied in some instances by Vladimir, visited the cities of Rostoff and Novgorod, baptizing and instructing the people, and within four or five years bishoprics had been established in Novgorod, Rostoff, Tzernigov and Bielgorod. In most instances no opposition was offered by the pagans, but at Rostoff the first two bishops were driven away, the third, Leontius, was murdered, and many years elapsed before the inhabitants of this district became nominal Christians.[2] Before Vladimir died in 1015 the greater part of his subjects had become Christians.

Christianity at Novgorod and Rostoff.

The French historian A. Leroy-Beaulieu, commenting upon the religious propagandism of Vladimir, writes:

Religious propagandism of Vladimir.

"As pagan feeling was still alive in all its force, and the people's soul was thoroughly imbued with it, the triumph of the one God was more apparent than real, and that for a long time. What Vladimir overthrew was the wooden idols with the gilt beards, not the ancient conceptions which they represented. The old idols convicted of being powerless before the God of the Byzantine missionaries were succeeded by the Christ and the saints of Christianity. The gospel victory, therefore, was easy in proportion as it was

[1] Karamsin, p. 98.

[2] *History of Russia*, by Kluchevsky, i. pp. 205 f.

shallow. It quickly took possession of the hills of Kiev and the Varangian homes for the very reason that it did not take hold of men's souls; it hardly disturbed them or made a change in their ideas. They understood Christianity so little that they often remained half pagan without knowing it. Such, after centuries, still frequently is the *mujik's* religion." [1]

Karamsin, referring to the influence which the Christian faith exercised upon Vladimir, writes:

Character of Vladimir.

"This prince whom the Church acknowledged as 'equal with the apostles (*Isapostolos*)' has merited in history the name of 'great.' To God alone, and not to men, it appertains to know whether Vladimir became a Christian as the result of personal conviction of the holiness of evangelical morality or whether he was only influenced by the ambitious desire to become the relation and ally of the Greek emperors. It is sufficient (for us to know) that after having embraced the divine religion, Vladimir was, so to speak, sanctified by it and that he became entirely different from that which he had been when paganism enveloped him in its darkness. . . . Without doubt his chief title to immortality is that he set the Russians on the path of true religion, but his prudence in administration and his brilliant deeds of arms have equally merited for him the title of great." [2]

Kiev.

Before the death of Vladimir, Kiev had become a centre of Christian influence and, if we may believe Thietmar, who was a contemporary of Vladimir, it

[1] *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians*, by Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, Eng. ed. pp. 28 f.

[2] Karamsin, i. pp. 286 f.

contained no less than four hundred Christian churches.[1]

In trying to form any impression of the condition of Russia at the time when Christianity began to spread throughout its territory, it is necessary to remember how large an element of the population the slave class constituted at that time. Kluchevsky writes: "The economic prosperity of Kievan Rus depended for its maintenance upon slavery—a system which towards the close of the twelfth century attained immense proportions. For three centuries the slave constituted the principal article of export to the markets of the Volga, the Black Sea and the Caspian, with the result that the Russian merchant came to be known first and foremost as a slave-dealer.[2] The introduction of Christianity did much to ameliorate the condition of the slaves and to secure them against arbitrary punishments inflicted by their masters. Slavery in Russia.

Yaroslav, one of the princes who eventually succeeded him, strove to promote the spread of Christianity by building churches and monasteries and by placing clergy in his principal towns in order to instruct their inhabitants. The Chronicler tells us that he caused the Scriptures to be translated from Greek into Slavonic, and that he himself read them by day Yaroslav. A Slavonic Bible.

[1] Thietmar writes: "In magna hac civitate (Kiev) quæ istius regni caput est plus quam quadringenta habentur ecclesiæ et mercatus octo." Adam Bremensis (*Chron.* vii. p. 16) writes: "Ostrogard Ruzziæ cujus metropolis civitas est Chive (Kiev) æmula sceptri Constantinopolitani, clarissimum decus Greciæ (Russiæ)." *Hist. Eccles.* ii. p. 13. According to the Russian chroniclers 700 churches and chapels were destroyed by a fire which occurred in 1124, but probably this reckoning and that of Thietmar are exaggerations. See Mouravieff, p. 364. As a place of pilgrimage Kiev ranks perhaps first in Christendom, the number of pilgrims in one year often reaching a million.

[2] *Hist. of R.* vol. iii. p. 185.

and by night and transcribed them many times with his own hand. He also placed a copy of them in the church of St. Sophia in Kiev for the use of the people.[1] In 1044 he ordered the bones of Oleg and Yaropolk, brothers of Vladimir who had died as heathen, to be disinterred, and to be baptized.[2] He prepared the way for establishing an independent Russian church by opening schools for training youths, who might eventually become priests, at Kiev and Novgorod: the church which he built at Kiev, dedicated to St. Sophia, still exists.[3]

Schools for the training of priests.

Of the Russian rulers who helped to raise the ideals of his subjects and to show them how the profession of Christianity should influence their life and conduct none is more deserving of mention than Vladimir the Second (d. 1126), the grandson of Yaroslav and the husband of Gytha, who was a daughter of our English king Harold. We may venture to believe that he owed to his English wife part at least of the religious influence which dominated his life. His dying injunctions to his sons afford evidence that the true meaning of the religion which by this time had become the nominal faith of a large part of Russia was beginning to be understood. A few sentences will enable the reader to appreciate their general trend.

Vladimir II.

His dying injunctions.

"O my children, praise God . . . and shed tears over your sins . . . both in the church and when you lie down. Do not fail a single night to bend at least

[1] Karamsin, ii. p. 30; *Chronique de Nestor*, pp. 128 f.

[2] Id. p. 131.

[3] The oldest existing Russian church is the cathedral of St. Saviour, founded at Tzernigov by Prince Mstislav, the next oldest being that of St. Sophia, at Kiev, and another also dedicated to St. Sophia at Novgorod founded by Vladimir, a son of Yaroslav.

three times to the ground. . . . And when you go for a ride, if you have nothing to engage your attention and know no other prayer, repeat secretly and without ceasing, 'Lord, have pity,' for this is the best of all prayers. And (to do) this is much better than to think of evil things. . . . When you tell anything whether good or evil do not swear by God . . . if you kiss the cross to make an oath to your brother, or to anyone else, probe well your heart to see if you are prepared to keep your oath, then kiss it and beware lest you lose your soul by failing to keep your oath. Be not proud in your heart or thought, but say, 'We are mortal, to-day we live, to-morrow we are in the tomb.' . . . Do not hide your treasure in the ground: to do so is a great sin. . . . Avoid lying, drunkenness and debauchery, for these destroy body and soul. . . . Visit the sick, escort the dead, for we are all mortal. Do not pass in front of a man without saluting him and giving him a good word. Love your wives, but do not let them have power over you. Finally, that which is above all, have the fear of God. . . . Idleness is the mother of all the vices. . . . Let not the sun find you in bed . . . as soon as you see the sun rise, praise God and say with joy, 'Open my eyes, Lord Jesus, Who hast given me Thy beautiful light.'" [1]

The author of this testament did not regard a somewhat fierce treatment of his enemies as inconsistent with the due performance of his religious duties, as he continues:

"I have made eighty-three campaigns. . . . I have set free the chief princes of the Polovtsi . . . and

[1] *Chronique de Nestor*, pp. 243-57.

a hundred others. And other princes whom God has delivered alive into my power . . . I massacred them and threw them into the river Slavlia. . . . I have killed up to this time two hundred important prisoners." [1]

Character of Vladimir II.

The character of Vladimir II was a strange mixture of devotion and of barbarism, nevertheless it compares favourably with that of many of his predecessors, and at least some of his contemporaries in other countries. The religion which he professed was a real factor in the making of the man, and his ideals of conduct and action would have been much worse than they were had the uplifting and restraining influence of his imperfect Christianity been absent.

The Petchersky monastery at Kiev,

The monastery (*Lavra*) of Petchersky at Kiev, of which the Chronicler Nestor eventually became an inmate, was founded in 1010 by a hermit named Antony, who, after spending some time in the Greek monastery on Mount Athos, took up his abode in a cavern near Kiev. He was presently joined by twelve monks who began by digging out a subterranean church and subterranean cells for their accommodation.[2] When their number still further increased they built a large church to serve the monastery of which Vaarlam and Theodosius became the first abbots, Antony having refused to accept the honour. A few years later King Yaroslav founded two other monasteries at Kiev, one for men called after his own angel St.

[1] *Chronique de Nestor*, pp. 243-57.

[2] Lavra, which is applied to monasteries of the first rank, is equivalent to caves. This famous monastery was destroyed in 1096 by Doniak, the Khan of the Polovtsi, and again by the Tartars in 1240, and was burnt down in 1718. It was again rebuilt and reconsecrated in 1729. See Karamsin, ii. pp. 109-11; Mouravieff, pp. 22 ft., 361.

George and one for women which was called after St. Irene, the angel of his consort.[1] The Chronicler, referring to the foundation of the Petchersky monastery, writes :

"Many monasteries have been founded by princes and nobles and by wealth, but they are not such as those which have been founded by tears and fasting and prayer and vigil. Antony had neither gold nor silver, but he procured all by prayer and fasting."[2]

a centre of missionary activity.

This monastery became a centre of religious life and of religious training from which went forth many missionaries to the heathen as well as the founders of the many other monasteries which began to spread over northern Russia. Thus Mouravieff writes :

Antony and Theodosius.

"The names of Antony and Theodosius began to be invoked in prayer from the time of the reign of Sviatopolk as . . . the fathers of all who lived a life of religious retirement in our country, for the lavra shot its roots deep into the soul of Russia. It gave its monks to the Church. . . . Some of them preached the name of Christ to the heathen and died the death of martyrs, as Gerasimus, the first illuminator of the savage Vess in the northern quarters, as Kouksha and Pimen who suffered for the word of God on the banks of the Oka while engaged in the conversion of the Viatichi. Others, whose names are too many to be

[1] "His angel" or "her angel" is the customary phrase in the Russian language to designate the patron saint after whom anyone is named. At the same time the Russians have also the belief that an angel, properly so called, is set over every baptized person in the Church, whom they call the guardian angel, without confounding him with the angel or saint from whom they have their Christian name. Mouravieff, p. 361.

[2] *Chronique de Nestor*, p. 135.

reckoned . . . supplied examples in their seclusion of the practice of all the virtues." [1]

Ideals of Russian monks.

In course of time, as Russia became nominally Christian, and their rôle as centres of missionary activity was accomplished, the monks gave themselves up more and more to a life of contemplation and the practice of asceticism. Referring to the ideals of the Russian monks generally Leroy-Beaulieu writes: "It was neither the need of organizing for the struggles of life nor zeal for the saving of souls—it was the love of seclusion, renunciation of the world and its strife which filled the Russian monasteries. . . . The Russian monks' object was neither intellectual work nor manual labour, neither charity nor proselytism, but merely personal salvation and atonement for the sins of the world." [2] There are and have been many monks and many monasteries to whom this statement would not apply, but the criticism is justified by the history of Russian monasteries taken as a whole.

Bishop Clement of Kiev, 1197.

The first metropolitan of Kiev who was appointed by the Russians themselves without consultation with the Patriarch of Constantinople was Clement, a monk of Smolensk. When he was elected (in 1197) "Bishop Onuphrius proposed that as a substitute for patriarchal consecration they should in ordaining him lay on his head the hand of St. Clement of Rome, whose relics had been brought from Kherson by Vladimir." [3]

Until the latter part of the twelfth century the

[1] Mouravieff, p. 25.

[2] *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians*, Eng. ed., vol. iii. p. 192. According to M. Leroy-Beaulieu there were in 1896 in the Russian Empire 550 convents or monasteries containing 11,000 monks and 18,000 nuns. See p. 198.

[3] It is not certain whether this proposal was adopted or not. See Mouravieff, pp. 35, 367.

Russian nation was more or less confined to the basins of the rivers Dnieper and Volga. Outside these districts Christianity made comparatively little progress and at the time of the Mongol invasion large tracts of southern Russia were still unevangelized. At this time many of the monks who escaped being massacred by the Tartars directed their steps towards the north, and during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a large number of missionary monasteries were founded in the northern districts, more particularly amongst the Finnish tribes which bordered on Russia.

Monasteries in the far north.

By the beginning of the thirteenth century when the Tartar Mongols, who were to dominate Russia for two centuries, first began their invasions, the greater part of Russia had become nominally Christian. The great battle which was fought at Kalka in 1224 checked their invasion for the moment, but twelve years later they returned and overran the greater part of the country, razing the chief towns, including Kiev, and destroying the Christian churches. How ruthlessly the Mongols massacred the inhabitants of the countries which they conquered may be gathered from the statement of Howorth in his history of the Mongols that between the years 1211 and 1223, "18,470,000 beings perished in China and Tangut alone at the hands of Jengis and his followers." To quote the words of another writer: "In Asia and Eastern Europe scarcely a dog might bark without Mongol leave, from the borders of Poland and the coast of Cilicia to the Amur and the Yellow Sea." [1]

The Mongols defeated at Kalka, 1224.

Massacres by the Mongols.

Again Kluchevsky writes: "For a long period

[1] *The Book of Marco Polo*, by Colonel Yule.

Description by Plano Carpini.

after 1240 the provinces of ancient Rus, once so thickly peopled, remained in a state of desolation. A Roman Catholic missionary named Plano Carpini, who traversed Kievan Rus in 1246, on his way from Poland to the Volga to preach the Gospel to the Tartars, has recorded in his memoirs that although the road between Vladimir in Volhynia and Kiev was beset with perils, owing to the frequency with which the Lithuanians raided that region, he met with no obstacle at the hands of Russians, for the very good reason that few of them were left alive in the country after the raids and massacres of the Tartars. Throughout the whole of his journey across the ancient provinces of Kiev and Periaslavl he saw countless bones and skulls lying by the wayside, or scattered over the neighbouring fields, while in Kiev itself—once a populous and spacious city—he counted only 200 houses, each of which sheltered but a few sorry inmates."[1] Many Russians died as martyrs rather than renounce their Christian profession; but as time passed religious persecution ceased, and the Christian churches were gradually rebuilt.[2] Usbek Khan,[3] who became the head of the Tartars in 1313, and who lived at Karakorum in Central Asia, became a Mohammedan and many of the Tartars followed his example.

Usbek Khan.

Monks as missionaries to the Finns.

During the two centuries which followed the time of Vladimir monks played a foremost part in spreading a knowledge of Christianity amongst the peoples of

[1] *History of Russia*, p. 195.

[2] On the top of every Russian church in every town which was under the Tartar yoke the Cross is planted on a Crescent. *Cf.* Lectures on *History of the Eastern Churches*, by Stanley, p. 324.

[3] For an account of the Christian embassies sent to the Great Khan by the Pope in 1245 and by Louis IX of France in 1253, see Neander, *Ch. Hist.* vii. 65-75.

Russia and specially amongst the Finnish tribes which inhabited the greater part of Northern Russia. Settling amongst these nomad peoples, sometimes only two or three at a time, they lived at first in huts or cabins, and, having won the confidence of those with whom they came in contact, and whilst endeavouring to impart Christian teaching, they taught them also how to clear the forest, to cultivate the ground, to build houses and to fish. In course of time the huts inhabited by the missionaries developed into monasteries and the settlements became towns. It was to the labours of the missionary monks that the incorporation of these Finnish tribes as an integral part of the Russian state was chiefly due.

These monasteries received a large access of numbers in the thirteenth century, when the incursions of the Mongols and the wholesale destruction of churches and monasteries in the south caused many to seek refuge in the north.

Sergius, 1315-92.

In 1315 was born a man whose life and work have left a lasting impression upon the development of religion in Russia. Sergius, who was born at Rostoff, left his home when still a young man and lived, first of all with his brother and afterwards alone, amongst the wild beasts in the thick forest about forty-three miles north-east of Moscow. His holy life soon attracted to him disciples, and with their aid he built a little wooden church dedicated to the Holy Trinity (Troitskaia). The monastery which arose on the same site became the largest and most influential in Russia and from it went forth thousands of monks and ascetics to labour both in the central and southern

parts of Russia and amongst the tribes of the north. Before his death in 1392 the name of Sergius was known and revered all over Russia, and princes and bishops sought from him advice and help.[1]

Northern monasteries.

Amongst the list of monasteries which deserve special mention in view of the missionary work which they accomplished are the monastery of the Assumption on the shores of Lake Onega, founded for the prosecution of missionary work amongst the Lopars (Laplanders): one on an island in the Kubensky Lake, the monks of which strove to evangelize the savage tribes of Tchudes (Finns): the Solovetsky monastery on an island in the White Sea, the monks of which laboured amongst the inhabitants along the coast,[2] and one on Lake Ladoga which was a centre of missionary work amongst the Carelians.[3]

Stephen of Perm.

Another great missionary, who was a younger contemporary of Sergius, was Stephen, by whose labours the Ziranes who inhabited the district of Great Perm in the south-east of Russia were won to the Christian faith. As a youth he entered a monastery at Rostoff and for thirteen years he occupied himself

[1] This monastery continues to be the richest and most celebrated of all the religious houses in Russia. It is said to have possessed at one time 106,000 male peasants or serfs with the land to which they were attached. It withstood the attacks of a Polish army of 30,000 men for sixteen months. It is surrounded by a wall 1500 yards in length and flanked by eight towers. All the moveable treasures of Moscow were placed here for security during the invasion of the French in 1812. Note by R. W. Blackmore in his translation of Mouravieff's *History*, p. 377.

[2] In the *Travels of Macarius*, written in the middle of the fifteenth century, an account is given of a cannibal tribe of dog-faced people who lived 150 versts north of Archangel, 1700 of whom are said to have paid a visit to Moscow (vol. i. pp. 417-21).

[3] In 1227 Yaroslav sent missionaries to Carelia, with the result that the majority of the inhabitants were baptized. See below, p. 523.

with the study of the Greek language and literature. He then went alone to live and preach in the woods of Perm, and having been ordained priest in 1378 he built a church on the river Viuma which served as a centre of his missionary work. The language of the Ziranes which he had known from his boyhood was reduced by him to writing after he had himself composed an alphabet for the purpose. He then translated parts of the Bible and of the liturgy into the Zirane language and the services in his church were conducted by him in the language of the people. After his consecration as a bishop in 1383 he established many churches and schools throughout the province of Perm and ordained some of the students who had been educated in his schools as priests. He died at Moscow in 1401.

Livonia, the country inhabited by the Lieflanders, who were a Slavonic race, stretched along the eastern coasts of the Baltic as far as the Gulf of Finland. The earlier attempts which had been made by Danish kings to compel the inhabitants of these districts to accept Christianity had done little more than embitter them against all who bore the name of Christians, but in 1158 traders from Bremen began to form friendly relations with the Lieflanders and to establish trading settlements amongst them, and were thus the means of preparing the way for the advent of Christian missionaries. In, or about, 1184 an aged monk named Meinhard, who had been trained in one of Vicelin's monasteries at Segeberg in Holstein, moved by the reports of this almost unknown people which he had received from traders, resolved to go as a missionary

Livonia.

The monk Meinhard, 1184.

to their country. He accordingly sailed with some traders to the River Duna, where he preached for two or three years, and in 1186, having obtained the consent of the Russian prince Vladimir of Plozk, he built a church at Ukskull, a little beyond Riga, where the traders had already established a settlement. Here he won the confidence of the inhabitants by helping them to repel an attack made by pagan tribes in Lithuania and by instructing them in the art of building fortifications. Induced very largely by the material benefits which they had received, many of the people accepted baptism, and in 1186 Meinhard went to Bremen, where he was consecrated by Archbishop Hartwig as a bishop. One of those who had helped him to start the work in Livonia was Theodoric a Cistercian monk who had begun to cultivate some land at Thoreida not far from Ukskull. His success in agriculture, however, aroused the hostility of the heathen and they began to debate the question of offering him up as a sacrifice to their gods.[1] Before deciding upon their action they brought out their sacred horse, and the omens which they obtained from the thrice-repeated stepping of the horse over rows of spears having proved favourable, Theodoric was left unmolested. Later on his life was imperilled in consequence of an eclipse of the sun which occurred in 1191. On this occasion he was accused of having devoured the sun, but its reappearance, or some other fortunate occurrence, saved his life for the time being. Owing however to his increasing unpopularity

Bishop Theodoric.

[1] Cf. *Chronicon. Livoniæ*, i. 10, "quem Livones diis suis immolare proponunt, eo quod fertilior seges ipsius sit in agris, eorumque segetes inundatione pluviæ perirent."

he was forced to abandon his work. On his return to Ukskull Meinhard found that some who had been baptized had relapsed into heathenism and that the task of real conversion had hardly yet begun. The hostility of the people proved so great that at length he appealed to Pope Celestine for assistance, but the Pope could do nothing more than send him letters of encouragement.

Bishop Berthold, 1196.

Before his death in 1196 he obtained the consent of the people to receive another bishop, and after his death Berthold, the abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Lockhum, was consecrated as his successor. On his arrival at Ukskull Berthold distributed presents amongst both Christians and pagans and supplied them with food and drink, but as soon as his supply of gifts was exhausted he was forced to flee the country.

His resort to force.

Returning at the head of an armed force, which he had collected with the help of the Pope, he summoned the Lieflanders to submit and to permit missionary work to be carried on in their midst. They refused his demand, but invited him to preach to them by words instead of by deeds, whereupon a battle ensued in which the bishop was killed (July 24, 1198), although his army was victorious. The Lieflanders now sued for peace and, as a pledge of their goodwill, 150 of them agreed to receive baptism, but as soon as the army was withdrawn a reaction occurred and, whilst the missionaries saved their lives by flight, two hundred of the Christians were put to death by the heathen Lieflanders. The next bishop, Albert von Apeldern of Bremen, who was appointed in 1198, sailed up the R. Duna early in 1200 with twenty-

His death in battle.

Bishop Apeldern

three ships and accompanied by a considerable army.[1] He reduced the Lieflanders to subjection and in 1201 founded the town of Riga to which place the bishopric of Ukskull was transferred. His efforts however to evangelize the people met with scant success, and he retained a considerable armed force partly in order to overawe the Lieflanders and partly in order to resist the incursions of pagan tribes. In order to provide for the maintenance of such a force he obtained the consent of the Emperor Otto IV and the approval of the Pope to the establishment of the knightly "Order of the Sword"[2] in 1202. The order was placed under the special protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary and its members were pledged to hear mass frequently, to abstain from marriage, to lead a chaste and sober life, and to fight against the heathen. In return for their services they were authorized to hold and enjoy whatever lands they succeeded in wresting from their heathen inhabitants. For over twenty years this Order waged ruthless war against the inhabitants of Livonia. In each case in which they granted terms of peace to a section of its people one of the terms was that the inhabitants of the district

subjugates the Liefflanders.

The "Order of the Sword."

[1] With a view to the raising of this force Pope Innocent III addressed a letter to all Christians in Saxony and Westphalia urging them to join this army. In it he wrote, "We take under our protection and that of Saint Peter all who, inflamed with divine zeal, shall conduct an expedition for the defence of the Livonian Church and of the Christians in those parts and we impart to them the benefits of the apostolic patronage." The letter is dated Oct. 5, 1199. See Migne, *P. L.* ccxvii. col. 54. In this and in two other letters the Pope commands those who had vowed to make pilgrimages to Rome to substitute for them a crusade against the Livonians.

[2] The original name of the Order was Ordo fratrum militiæ Christi. The first members of the Order were apparently Cistercians.

should be baptized.[1] From Riga Bishop Albert carried his arms into Esthonia and the neighbouring territories of Semgallen and Courland, and founded the sees of Revel, Dorpat and Pernau, which became ecclesiastical fortresses in the midst of a hostile population. So rapidly did the Christianization of the country proceed that in Esthonia one priest is said to have baptized from 300 to 500 persons a day for some time.

Baptisms in Esthonia.

An interesting experiment by way of missionary propaganda was the institution of dramatic plays representing scenes from the Bible. Thus in Riga in 1204 plays were exhibited illustrating the exploits of Gideon, David and Herod, the meaning of which was explained to the spectators by interpreters. The play, which represented Gideon's soldiers making a surprise attack upon their foes, not having been sufficiently explained to the spectators, they fled in terror from the spot, fearing that they themselves were about to be attacked. The priest Heinrich (der Lette) who acts as historian was an eye-witness of the play.

Biblical plays in Riga.

A monk named Sigfrid who was in charge of the Christian Church at Holm, and who died in 1202, appealed to the Lieflanders by more peaceful methods than those adopted by his bishop, and his earnestness and piety made a considerable impression upon the people, many of whom he baptized.

Work of Sigfrid.

In the winter of 1205 Archbishop Andreas of Lund, who had come with the Danish contingent of Bishop

Archbp. Andreas at Riga.

[1] In one case the terms of the treaty of peace provided that "all men, women and children receive without delay baptismal regeneration and keep the rites observed by other Christians." *Origines Livoniæ*, i. 135.

Albert's army, gave a course of instruction on the Psalms to the clergy at Riga.[1] In the course of a fight between Christian Letti and the heathen of Esthland a Lettian priest mounted a redoubt and sang a hymn of praise to God, accompanying his hymn with a musical instrument. The heathen, captivated by the song, ceased fighting and asked what was the occasion for such a manifestation of joy, whereupon the missionary replied, "We rejoice and praise God, because but a short time ago we received baptism and now we see that God defends us." [2]

Martyrdom of Frederic of Celle.

In 1213 Frederic of Celle, the missionary priest in charge of Friedland, was put to death with torture by pagans and died thanking God who had counted him worthy to suffer martyrdom.[3]

In 1224, by which time the opposition of the Liflanders had been finally broken down, Pope Honorius III, on the request of the bishop of Riga, sent William bishop of Modena as a legate to Livonia. He urged the Germans to treat those whom they had conquered with kindness and not to lay upon their shoulders an "intolerable yoke" lest they should abandon the Christian faith and lapse again into idolatry.

The Church in Livonia.

The need of clergy to maintain the work of the Church in Livonia was in part supplied by Pope Innocent III, who (in 1213) directed every monastery in Saxony to send one or two of its members to act as missionaries. A similar order was issued by Pope Honorius III in 1220. Money was also collected for this purpose by papal authority. Bishop Albert

[1] See *Livoniæ Chronicon*, 43, "et legendo in Psalterio totam hiemem in divina contemplatione deducuntur."

[2] *Liv. Chron.* 57.

[3] *Liv. Chron.* 26.

died on January 17, 1229, and by the time of his death the great majority of the inhabitants of Livonia had become Christians.

Introduction of Christianity into Esthonia.

Esthonia (in German, Esthland), which now constitutes one of the Baltic provinces of Russia,[1] received its first impressions of Christianity from Canute IV (Knud Valdemarson) king of Denmark (d. 1086), who attacked it with a fleet of 760 ships and, after forcibly baptizing a number of its inhabitants, erected Christian churches in their midst. His ships, however, had hardly disappeared when the churches were destroyed and all traces of Christianity were obliterated. In 1219 Valdemar II, after obtaining the papal benediction, undertook another crusade against the Esthonians. The Danish soldiers vowed that in the event of their proving victorious every Dane above twelve years of age would henceforth keep a fast on St. Laurence's eve. After gaining an initial success he was hard pressed by the Esthonians and was in danger of suffering a complete defeat. The Danish archbishop, Anders Suneson, thereupon ascended a hill, and, imitating the action of Moses in the fight against the Amalekites, he held up his hands in prayer, and assisted to encourage the Danish forces to renewed efforts, which proved at length completely victorious. Christianity was then forcibly reintroduced and was gradually accepted throughout the province. Esthonia was sold by the Danes to the Knights of the Sword in 1347, and after becoming incorporated with Sweden in 1521 was ceded to Peter the Great in 1721.

A crusade against the Esthonians, 1219.

Christianity spread by force.

[1] It is bounded on the north by the Gulf of Finland, on the east by the Government of Petrograd, from which it is separated by the R. Narowa, on the south by Livonia and on the west by the Baltic.

The Lithuanians.

Lithuania was inhabited in the tenth century by the Lithuanians, who were subdivided into Litva, Borussians and Letts, and occupied the south-eastern coast of the Baltic from the Vistula to the Duna. Later on the Borussians, whose name is perpetuated in the country of Prussia, were conquered by Germans. The Letts were driven northwards and fell under the dominion of the Livonians. In the thirteenth century the Lithuanians, together with the Samoghitians, constituted an independent people. In 1250 their ruler Mendowg (Mindove), having been attacked by the Livonian Order, agreed to be baptized and was crowned by Innocent IV as king of the Lithuanians. Vitus, a Dominican friar, was at the same time sent as a missionary to the Lithuanians, but his efforts met with little success. In 1260 the king relapsed into heathenism, and a general uprising of the Lithuanians against the Livonian Order resulted in the re-establishment of their independence. Mendowg himself was killed in 1263. Gedymin, who was the ruler of Lithuania from 1316 to 1341, and who greatly extended his dominions, long remained a heathen, but his seven sons were baptized into the Greek Church and before his death he himself was baptized. In 1325 the Lithuanians concluded a treaty with Poland against the Livonian Order, which proved the first step towards the union of Lithuania and Poland that took place in 1569. In 1345 the principality of Lithuania, with Vilna as its capital, was re-established under Olgerd, who had married a Christian wife and had himself been baptized. But although he called himself a

Baptism of Mendowg, 1250.

Heathen reaction, 1260.

Christian he continued to offer sacrifices to the national gods and to adore the sacred flame which was kept burning in one of the temples at Vilna. When he died his body was burned with pagan ceremonies. His son Yagello (Vladislav) who succeeded him married in 1386 the Polish queen Yadviga, who was a Christian, and at the same time agreed to introduce Christianity into Lithuania. By virtue of his marriage with Yadviga he became king of Poland as well as king of Lithuania. Having been baptized at Cracow in the Latin Church by the name of Vladislav, he proceeded to Vilna, where the diet passed a resolution formally accepting Christianity as the national religion. Polish clergy under the superintendence of the archbishop of Gnesen were subsequently introduced as missionaries, together with a Franciscan friar named Vasillo, who became the first bishop of Vilna. The Lithuanians up to this time had worshipped the stars and the god of thunder, and had venerated serpents and lizards.[1]

Yagello.

Christianity accepted as the national religion.

Adam of Bremen attributes to them also the custom of offering human sacrifices. Thus he writes, "They venerate serpents and birds, to whom they even offer living men bought from the merchants, after they have been carefully examined to see that they have no spot on their bodies."[2] In the fourteenth century their chief priest Krive-Kriveyto (judge of judges) superintended seventeen classes of priests

Pagan customs in Lithuania.

[1] Pope Pius II (Æneas Sylvius) writing about 1460 says, "primi quos adiit ex Lituanis serpente colebant, paterfamilias suum quisque in angulo domus serpentem habuit, cui cibum dedit ac sacrificium fecit in feno jacenti." *De Statu Europæ.* cap. xxvi.

[2] Adam Brem., *de situ Daniæ.*

and elders who worshipped in the forests, and long after the introduction of Christianity veneration was paid to oak trees both by the Lithuanians and the Letts. These also maintained a perpetual fire, the priests in charge of which were specially consulted by the friends of those who were sick.[1] On the introduction of Christianity by the Polish missionaries the sacred fire was extinguished, the groves were cut down and the serpents and lizards were killed. Yagello gave every assistance to the missionaries and himself translated into the language of his people the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and other Christian formularies. Moved by the example and exhortations of their ruler, many of the people were either conducted to the banks of rivers and baptized by immersion, or were sprinkled with the water of baptism, large numbers at a time, many receiving at the same time the same Christian name.

Yagello assists the Christian missionaries.

In 1390, four years after the nominal conversion of the people of Lithuania, the Earl of Derby, who afterwards became Henry IV of England, took part in a crusade organized by the Knights of Prussia, the object of which was stated to be the conversion of Lithuania. He fought under the walls of Vilna against the Lithuanians and Poles, and is alleged to have killed in single combat Czartoryski a brother of Yagello.[2]

The Earl of Derby in Lithuania, 1390.

In 1413 a Lithuanian priest named Withold went as a missionary to the Samaites or Samoieds in the very far north. Missionaries from Prussia had already visited them but without producing visible results.

Missionary labours of Withold, 1413.

[1] Adam Brem., *de situ Daniæ.*

[2] See Krasinski, *Lectures on the Religious History of the Slavonic Nations*, p. 307 n.

Withold met with a considerable amount of success and became the first bishop of Miedniki (Wornie). In 1420 the last sacred grove was cut down and the national worship of idols was finally abolished.

Introduction of Christianity into Finland.

Finland up to the beginning of the twelfth century was practically untouched by the preaching of Christian missionaries. Early in this century Vassievolodovich sent Russian missionaries to the Carelians who lived on Lake Ladoga in East Finland, and in 1157 Erik, king of Sweden undertook a crusade against Finland and established himself on the south-western coast. Henrik, bishop of Upsala, who accompanied Erik, preached the gospel to the Finns and suffered a martyr's death in 1158. His successor Rodulfus also died as a martyr about 1178. An independent Church of Finland was established under Bishop Thomas (d. 1248).

St. Juri in Kazan.

Missionary work was carried on with a considerable amount of success by St. Juri (Gurius), the first bishop of Kazan (1555–64), which lies about half-way between Moscow and the Ural mountains.[1] One of his fellow-workers, Varsonophius, had been a captive with the Tartars in the Crimea, and having learnt their language and their customs was able to appeal to the Tartars of Kazan. As the result of their labours and of those of Bishop Germanus (d. 1569) Christian communities were established in the towns, but the inhabitants of the villages remained as heathen or Mohammedans until the nineteenth century, and many are still Mohammedans.

The Tartars of Kazan.

[1] Kazan was conquered and incorporated with Russia in 1552 by Ivan the Terrible.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries great pressure was brought to bear upon the heathen Tartars by the Russian government and 100,000 of them were practically forced to accept baptism, but although churches were built and clergy were stationed amongst them, they and their descendants remained as baptized heathen. The Mohammedan Tartars, however, continued to constitute the majority of the population. About the middle of the nineteenth century public attention was drawn to Kazan by the news that tens of thousands of the descendants of those who had been forcibly baptized were abandoning the profession of Christianity and were embracing Islam. At this time there was living in Kazan a man named Nicholai Ivanovitch Ilminsky, who in 1846 became lecturer in Tartar and Arabic in the ecclesiastical academy of Kazan which had been founded in 1842. In 1847 he undertook the task of translating the Bible and the service-books into a language which the Tartars could understand,[1] and in order to prepare himself for the work of a translator he went and lived amongst the Tartars in the villages, sharing their life and endeavouring to understand their language and their thoughts. In one village full of baptized Tartars, in answer to his inquiry addressed to a chance companion, "Who is living here?" he received the answer, "Tartars, only they are baptized." "What kind are they?" he asked. "Are they Orthodox?" "No," was the reply, "simply Tartars who have no religion at all." Travelling from village

Ilminsky.

His work amongst the Tartars.

[1] Early in the nineteenth century the British and Foreign Bible Society had issued the Bible in Tartar, but the language employed failed to be understood by the Tartars.

to village he gained the hearts of the Tartars "by his mildness, cheerful affability and quickness of perception," and came back to report that "to have any chance of influencing the baptized Tartars to become Christians in reality and not only in name, one must offer them in their vernacular language the Holy Scripture, the service and the preaching."[1] In 1851 he started for the East with the intention of studying Arabic and Arabic literature in order that he might better understand and appeal to the Tartar Moslems, and with this object in view he lived for more than two years in Egypt and Palestine, returning in 1854 to Kazan. He spent several years in endeavouring to produce translations into what might be called literary Tartar, but became at length convinced that the only language in which translations would appeal to the inhabitants of the villages was the colloquial which they themselves spoke. In 1858 a misunderstanding arose with the new archbishop of Kazan, who failed to appreciate Ilminsky's work, and the latter, having been accused of showing too much sympathy for the Moslems, was forced to leave Kazan. After spending three years in studying the language of the Kirghises, many of whom were still idolaters, he returned to Kazan in 1862 as professor of Arabic and of Tartar in the Kazan University, and remained there till his death in 1891. At Kazan he succeeded in establishing a central missionary school, the Tartar scholars trained in which went out throughout the province of Kazan and established a series of schools that did much for

A missionary school at Kazan.

[1] See article by Alexey Yakovlev, professor of Russian History in Moscow University. *The East and The West*, vol. xi. pp. 260 ff.

the evangelization of the districts in which they were situated. One of his chief helpers was a man named Vassili Timofeiev, whom Ilminsky found employed as a water-carrier, but who, under his influence and teaching, eventually became "a veritable apostle among the baptized Tartars." Professor Yakovlev writes:

Vassili Timofeiev.

"In the summer of 1864 Timofeiev went to the villages of the baptized Tartars and preached to them the Gospel and read to them the newly prepared translations of the Old Testament, and behold! people who ten years before avoided all religious conversations and turned aside with the utmost mistrust at every attempt to approach them, now gathered in crowds to listen to the reading in their vernacular language. . . . Timofeiev banded them in choirs to sing Christian hymns, and this improvised singing made a wonderful impression on them. The movement took on like fire in drought." [1]

The Kazan Translation Committee.

The Kazan Translation Committee, of which Ilminsky was for long the leading member, has published translations in at least twenty languages which are spoken either in European Russia or in Siberia.[2] Large numbers of clergy who have been trained at Kazan are now working as missionaries far beyond the limits

[1] *The East and The West*, vol. xi. p. 267.

[2] "The Holy Scriptures and other books have been translated by Ilminsky and his followers into Tartar (about 70 works printed); Tshuvash (about 260 works); Tsheremiss (about 80 works); lesser figures for Kirghis, Bashkir, Mordva, Votiak, Kalmuk and some ten other languages." See *The East and The West*, vol. xi. p. 268 n. Since 1885 the Holy Synod has authorized the use of languages other than the old Slavic in the Church Services. The Great Liturgy is now celebrated in the following languages, Tartar, Tshuvash, Tsheremiss, Mordva, Votiak, Buriat, Yakut, Tunguz and Samoyed. See L. Beaulieu, iii. 518.

of this province.[1] The principle which underlies the "Ilminsky system" is to appeal to the people whom it is desired to evangelize by books written in their own dialects, and the adoption of this principle for which he did so much to gain acceptance has rendered the work done by Ilminsky of lasting importance. He died (1891) mourned by many thousands in two continents, and to-day "in many a humble priest's or schoolmaster's house one may find a lithograph representing the beautiful features of the grand old man, an emblem of his soul and name, being a bond between millions of his followers, as his heart and mind were a connecting link of the cause during his life."[2]

The Ilminsky system.

Moslems are to be found to-day in almost every part of the Russian Empire. In European Russia they constitute a majority of the population of seven provinces, viz. Ufa, Kars, Tersk, Elisavetpol, Uralsk, Daghestan and Baku. The chief centres of Moslem life in Russia are Kazan, Orenburg, Ufa and Troizk. "Here most of them use the Russian language, and they are among the most civilized Moslems not only

Moslems in Russia.

[1] By 1895 the ex-scholars of this school included 65 Tartar priests and 150 teachers in charge of schools, of which 60 were in the government of Kazan.

[2] Id. p. 269. For a description of the missionary work which is now being carried on in Kazan see a pamphlet entitled *The Russian and English Churches*, by W. J. Birkbeck, pp. 27 ff. Mr Birkbeck, in company with Father Vassili Timofeiev, visited a number of Tartar villages in the province of Kazan. Referring to one of these he writes: "A few years ago, except about 40 Russians, there was not a Christian in the village, but a rich merchant in Kazan had built a church and schools, and when I was there, there were 92 pupils in the school and 350 adult Tartars had made their Easter Communion. . . . I never saw, even in Russia, a more devout congregation, and it is quite difficult to realize that 30 years ago there was not a Christian in the village" (Address to a Meeting of the Eastern Church Association, 1895).

of Russia but of the world."[1] Prior to the war the Russian Empire contained 20,000,000 Moslems, of whom 3,500,000 are found in European Russia. They form nearly twelve per cent. of the entire population of the Russian Empire, and were represented in the Duma.[2] During the last decade about 50,000 members of the Orthodox Church have reverted to Islam.[3] There is an Orthodox Missionary Society for the promotion of work amongst Moslems with its headquarters in Moscow, the annual expenditure of which is about £32,000. It supports missions to Moslems at Orenburg in European Russia, also at Altai, Omsk and Tobolsk.

Missionary work amongst Moslems.

In comparing the story of the introduction of Christianity into Russia with that of its introduction into other European countries it is pleasing to note that, although a measure of compulsion was used by Vladimir to compel his people to be baptized and afterwards to receive Christian instruction, no one was put to death for refusing to abandon paganism, and that, since Russia as a whole became nominally a Christian country, there has been an entire absence of the more violent forms of persecution directed against heretics and unbelievers. The tortures of the Inquisition and the cruelties practised on those accused of sorcery, which disgraced a large portion of the rest of Christendom, have been unknown in Russia. It is true that Karamsin, the Russian historian, refers to the burning of four sorcerers at Novgorod in 1227,

The treatment of unbelievers and heretics in Russia.

[1] *Mohammed or Christ*, by S. M. Zwemer, p. 77.

[2] The great majority of Russian Moslems belong to the Sunnite sect; the only exception is in the Caucasus, where there are a considerable number of Shiahs. Id.

[3] Id. p. 83.

but he describes this as a lamentable error of superstition and says that it was done without the knowledge or approval of bishop or clergy.[1]

The non-Christian population of European and Asiatic Russia exceeds thirty million. We hope and believe that the Orthodox Church, freed at last by the recent Revolution from its long subservience to political influences, will become a great missionary Church and will help to interpret and to commend the Christian faith to the Slavs, the Moslems and the Mongols who are included within the limits of Russia. The missionary outlook.

[1] Karamsin, iii. p. 298.

CHAPTER XX

THE ISLANDS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

Cyprus

Paul and Barnabas at Salamis.

Paul and Barnabas, who was himself a native of Cyprus, preached the Gospel at Salamis,[1] and Barnabas and Mark returned to the island later on as missionaries.[2] Christian Jews from Cyprus, moreover, had been amongst the number of those who first preached the Gospel at Antioch.[3] The Byzantine *Synaxaria* mentions many saints, bishops and martyrs, amongst whom are included St. Lazarus, St. Heraclides and St. Nicanor, one of the first seven deacons.[4] During one of the great persecutions Christians from the mainland were banished to the mines of Cyprus. Cypriot bishops from Salamis, Paphos and Trimithus were present at Nicæa. The fact that one of them, Spiridion, who was a shepherd, remained as a shepherd after his consecration as bishop of Trimithus[5] suggests that Christianity had by this time made way amongst the country people outside the town. A little later mention is made of a bishop of Ledræ.[6] Sozomen speaks of Cypriot bishops in

Cypriot bishops at Nicæa,

[1] Acts xiii.
[2] Acts xv. 29.
[3] Acts xi. 20.
[4] Acts vi.
[5] He was married and had children. Socrates, i. 12 and Sozomen, *H. E.* i. 11. διὰ ἀτυφίαν πολλὴν ἐχόμενος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐποίμαινε καὶ τὰ πρόβατα.
[6] Triphyllius. See Sozomen, *H. E.* i. 11; Jerome, *de Vir. Ill.* xcii.

the villages, and twelve bishops from Cyprus signed the decrees of the Council of Sardica in 343.[1] St. Epiphanius, the author of many theological works, who died in 403, was bishop of Salamis. The ecclesiastical independence of the Church in Cyprus was acknowledged at the Council of Ephesus in 431.[2]

and at Sardica.

St. Epiphanius.

Crete

St. Paul, accompanied by Titus, preached in Crete, and the latter was left behind by him in charge of the Christian community.[3] Dionysius bishop of Corinth wrote a letter (*circ.* 170) "to the Church of Gortyna and to the other Churches of Crete," and another letter to the Church of Cnossus, the bishop of which, Pinytus, he exhorted not to enforce too strict a rule of asceticism upon the brethren in Crete. The letter which Pinytus wrote in reply urged that the time had come to give "stronger meat" to his people.[4]

Titus in Crete.

Bishop Pinytus of Cnossus.

Rhodes, Melos, etc.

An attempt has been made to prove, by evidence derived from inscriptions, that there were Christian Churches on some of the other islands, especially on Rhodes and Thera, before the end of the first century, but the evidence that is available is unconvincing.[5]

Rhodes.

Thera.

[1] Athanasius, *Apol. c. Arian*, 50.

[2] The claim of the Cypriot Church to autonomy was based upon the alleged discovery of the coffin of St. Barnabas and an autograph of St. Matthew's Gospel. For an account of the later development of the Church in Cyprus, see *History of the Church of Cyprus*, by J. Hackett, 1902.

[3] Titus i. 5.

[4] Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 23.

[5] See Harnack, *Exp. of C.* ii. 230.

Melos. The Christian catacombs that have been found in Melos seem to prove the existence there of a Christian community as early as the third century. The writer of Patmos. the Apocalypse was for a time a resident in Patmos.[1] Cos, Lemnos, Corcyra, Lesbos. Bishops from Rhodes, Cos, Lemnos and Corcyra were present at the Council of Nicæa. Mytilene in Lesbos had a bishop in the time of Julian.[2] The tradition that St. Paul appointed Crispus as the first bishop of Ægina. Ægina[3] suggests that there was a Christian community there at a very early date.

Sicily

Christian catacombs. Of the Christian catacombs in which Sicily abounds a few may possibly be as old as the second century, but the first definite proof of the existence of a Christian community in Sicily is afforded by the statement made by Cyprian of Carthage[4] that letters were sent during the Decian persecution by clergy in Rome to Christians A Church in Syracuse. in Sicily. Pantænus, the teacher of Clement of Alexandria, was a Sicilian. A Christian Church existed at Syracuse at least as early as 250.[5] A bishop of Syracuse was present at Arles in 314,[6] and there were apparently bishops at Catania, Messina, Taormina and Girgenti before 325, and possibly at Lilybæum and Panormus.[7] Milman writes, "In Sicily, which long remained obstinately wedded to the ancient faith,

[1] Apoc. i. 9.
[2] Socrates, *H. E.* ii. 40.
[3] See *Const. Ap.* vii. 46.
[4] *Ep.* xxx. 5.
[5] See Cyprian, *Ep.* xxx. 5, also evidence afforded by existence of catacombs.
[6] See Letter of Constantine summoning Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse, to attend a council. Euseb. *H. E.* x. 5.
[7] See Harnack, *Exp. of C.* ii. 255 f.

eight celebrated temples were dedicated to the Mother of God."[1]

Malta

If, as is almost certain, Malta is to be identified with Melita, St. Paul spent three months in this island during his journey to Rome.[2] Chrysostom refers to the tradition that its inhabitants were converted as a result of his sojourn there.[3] Christian monograms and inscriptions have been found, some of which may be as old as the second century, and some of the tombs and subterranean cemeteries of a very early date near Citta Vecchia are said to be arranged like the Roman catacombs. According to a late tradition Publius, mentioned in the Acts, became the first bishop, and after acting as bishop for 31 years was transferred in 90 A.D. to Athens, where he was martyred in 125. The island was captured by the Saracens in 870, and their dominion lasted for 220 years, when it was again conquered by the Norman knights.

St. Paul in Malta.

Publius.

Sardinia

It is not improbable that the first missionaries to Sardinia were Christians who had been condemned to labour in its mines.[4] Towards the end of the second century those who were sent there from Rome to work in the mines included Callistus, who after-

Callistus.

[1] *Hist. of C.* iii. 182: *Cronologia Univ. della Sicilia*, p. 601; see above, p. 216 n.

[2] Acts xxviii.

[3] *Homily* liv. on Acts.

[4] See Hippolytus, given under *Origenis Philosophoumena*, ix. 12, in Migne, xvi. col. 3382.

wards became pope. The *Liberian Catalogue* states that Pontian, who was bishop of Rome in 235, was banished together with a presbyter named Hippolytus to Sardinia, and implies that he was sent to work in the mines.[1] It is possible that there may have been Christians at a still earlier period.[2] Four thousand Jews were exiled to Sardinia by Tiberius, and it is conceivable that some of these were Christians and that by their means a knowledge of the Christian faith was first introduced into the island. Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari (d. 371), defended the cause of Athanasius at the Council of Milan. There is an early Christian cemetery at Cagliari. Eusebius, who became bishop of Vercelli in 340, came from Sardinia.

Pontian and Hippolytus.

Lucifer, Bp. of Cagliari.

That paganism long survived in Sardinia [3] is suggested by the statement that Symmachus, a Sardinian who became pope in 498, came from a community that was then pagan and was not baptized till he arrived in Rome.[4]

Symmachus.

Corsica, Elba

Corsica.

There is no early tradition relating to the introduction of Christianity into Corsica. According to the Bollandists it was entirely Christian in 439, but Pope Gregory (590-604) speaks of many heathen as still to be found in the island. On the fall of the Western Empire (476) it was captured by the Vandals. It was

[1] *Catal. Liber.* Pontian.

[2] See reference to Letters of Dionysius of Corinth given in Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 23.

[3] Sardinia was specially noted for its worship of Hercules.

[4] *Cf.* "veniens ex paganitate," *Apologia adversus Anastasium.*

recovered by Belisarius, but captured by the Goths under Totila.

Rutilus Namatianus, writing about 416, speaks of the worship of Osiris as prevailing in *Elba*, but of the circumstances attending the introduction of Christianity into the island we know nothing. Elba.

CHAPTER XXI

ATTEMPTS TO CONVERT THE JEWS IN EUROPE

Treatment of the Jews by the Christian Church.

A COURT chaplain, asked by his sovereign to furnish him in the fewest possible words with a proof that the Bible was a true message from God, replied, "The Jews." The dispersion of the Jews throughout the whole world seemed to him to be a convincing proof that the Scriptures, in which their dispersal was foretold, were divinely inspired. The answer given by the chaplain is, however, the answer which we must give to a very different question, viz., What people has been treated by the Christian Church during a period embracing the greater part of its history with a cruelty that has created an insuperable obstacle in the way of their conversion, and which goes far to prove that it has completely misunderstood, if it has not actually repudiated, its Master's teaching? For if the dispersal of the Jews amongst all the nations of the world can be regarded as a fulfilment of the solemn warnings of Christ, their treatment by those who professed to be His followers is an ineffaceable blot on the page of Christian history, and affords to the Jews something more than a plausible excuse for looking askance at the teaching which the descendants of their persecutors would fain commend to them to-day.

It may be noted as an explanation, albeit not in

mitigation, of the persistent hostility shown by the Christians towards the Jews from very early times that many Christians believed them to have been in a large degree responsible for the persecutions and calumnies under which they had themselves suffered. "Other nations," said Justin Martyr to his Jewish interlocutor about 140 A.D., "have not inflicted on us and on Christ this wrong to such an extent as you have, who in very deed are the authors of the wicked prejudice against the Just One and us who hold by Him. For, after that you had crucified Him, . . . when you knew that He had risen from the dead and ascended to heaven . . . you selected and sent out from Jerusalem chosen men through all the world to tell that a godless heresy of Christians had sprung up, and to publish those things which all they who knew us not allege against us. So that you are the cause, not only of your own wrongdoing, but of that of all other men."[1]

The Jews held responsible for the persecution of Christians.

In the present chapter we propose to give a brief sketch of the efforts that have been made in Europe to convert the Jews to the Christian faith. It is not our object to refer to the persecutions, to which, in practically every country, they were from time to time subjected, except in so far as these persecutions were designed with the object of compelling them to submit to baptism and to become nominal Christians.

The story of the attempts to effect forcible conversion makes sad reading, but it is worth recalling, in the first place because it cannot fail to draw out our sympathy towards the descendants of those who suffered so cruelly at the hands of our forefathers, and in the second place

Forcible conversions: their wickedness and futility.

[1] *Dialogue with Trypho*, xvii.

because it demonstrates the wickedness and futility of all efforts to spread Christianity by the sword, or by the use of any material inducements.

It has sometimes been alleged that it has never proved possible to convert Jews except by the use of compulsion. Were this statement true, it would afford no justification for the employment of force, but that it has never been true may be shown by many incidents that occurred during the long centuries of persecution to which the Jews were subjected. Thus in Spain, the country where the Jews were more cruelly treated than they were in any other land, we read of a Dominican friar who by his preaching, accompanied as it was by acts of sympathy and kindness, induced many thousands of Spanish Jews to seek Christian baptism.[1] As another instance we may quote the story told by the historian Socrates. In the island of Crete an impostor, who called himself Moses, persuaded a number of Cretan Jews to abandon their secular occupations and on an appointed day led them up to a cliff overlooking the sea, having assured them that the sea would dry up like the Red Sea in olden time. He then commanded them to throw themselves into the sea. Many of those who did so were drowned, whilst others were rescued by Christian sailors, whose kindness so affected the Jews that a large number of them were baptized as Christians.[2]

Conversions effected by kindness,

in Spain

and in Crete.

The Missions to the Jews that have been carried on in various lands during the present and the latter half

[1] See below, p. 553 f. For a detailed account of the conversion and ordination in the twelfth century of a German Jew named Hermann, of which he left a written narrative, see Neander, vii. 106 ff.

[2] Socrates, vii. 38; Nicephorus, xiv. 40.

of the last century afford innumerable examples of the conversion of individual Jews who have become Christians by conviction, but who were first attracted towards Christianity by the sympathetic treatment which they received from Christians.

Persecution of Jews approved by nearly all Christians.

The most discouraging feature of the history of the efforts made in earlier times to convert the Jews is the comparative unanimity with which even saintly Christians were prepared to endorse the employment of force as a means for effecting their conversion. How completely the early and mediæval Christian Church failed to display intelligent sympathy in the attempts which it made to commend the Christian faith to the Jews may be inferred from the fact that more than fifteen hundred years were allowed to elapse before the New Testament was translated into their sacred language. It was first published in Hebrew at Nürnberg by Elias Hutter in 1599.[1]

No Hebrew N.T. till 1599.

A few typical instances will serve to show the attitude which bishops and other eminent Christian teachers adopted towards the Jews during a long course of centuries. Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Arverni (d. *circ.* 489), was one of the most liberal churchmen of his age. Nevertheless he could write thus to a friend : "This letter commends a Jew to your notice. Not that I am pleased with the error in which that nation is involved, and which leads them to perdition, but because it becomes us not to call any one of them sure of damnation while he yet lives,

Statements by Sidonius Apollinaris.

[1] An improved version by G. Robertson was published in London in 1661 : the Four Gospels were published in Rome in 1668, and a version of the whole N.T. was published by the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews in 1821.

for there is still a hope that he may turn and be forgiven."[1]

As an illustration of the feelings entertained towards the Jews by one of the most deeply religious men of the Middle Ages, we may quote a letter written by Bishop Grosstête of Lincoln, when he was archdeacon of Leicester, to the countess of Winchester, who had shown some kindly feelings towards the Jews. In the course of the letter he writes: "As murderers of the Lord, as still blaspheming Christ and mocking His Passion, they were to be in captivity to the princes of the earth. As they have the brand of Cain and are condemned to wander over the face of the earth, so they were to have the privilege of Cain, that no man was to kill them."[2]

Bishop Grosstête.

Peter of Cluny.

Peter, the celebrated abbot of Cluny, in a letter addressed to King Louis VII of France, wrote, "If the Saracens, who, in respect to the faith in Christ, have so much in common with us, are still to be abominated, how much more should we detest the Jews who blaspheme and ridicule Christ and cast aside all the sacraments of our redemption."[3] Although he does not actually approve of massacring them, he writes, "We should let them live like the fratricide Cain to their greater shame and torment."

Thomas Aquinas.

Thomas Aquinas, though he condemned the forcible baptism of Jewish infants against the will of their

[1] *Ep.* vi. 11.

[2] *Epist. R. Grosstête*, Rolls series, p. 36. In justice to Bp. Grosstête it should be remembered that his attitude towards the Jews was one of kindly tolerance, and that in this letter he deprecates any persecution of them. See *Robert Grosstête*, by F. S. Stevenson, pp. 97-101, 103-105.

[3] *Epistolæ*, lib. iv. cap. 36. Migne, *P. L.* clxxxix., col. 367.

parents, regarded it as an axiom that the Jews were theoretically slaves of the Church.[1]

Martin Luther wrote: "Doubt not, beloved in Christ, that after the Devil you have no more bitter, venomous, violent enemy, than the real Jew, the Jew in earnest in his belief." [2] Luther.

We pass on now to consider very briefly the efforts made to convert Jews in the principal countries in Europe.

Italy

In 315, and again in 335, Constantine issued decrees inflicting the punishment of burning upon Jews who persecuted converts from Judaism to Christianity.[3] In 315 he also made conversion from Christianity to Judaism [4] a penal offence. This law was re-enacted and made more severe by Constantius, who attached the penalty of death to marriages between Jews and Christians. Theodosius I ordered a Jewish synagogue that had been burnt in Rome to be rebuilt, and directed the bishop of Callinicum to see that this was done. His action called out the vehement remonstrance of Ambrose of Milan who, writing in 388, referred to a synagogue as a dwelling of perfidy, a house of impiety and a receptacle of insanity.[5] His protest resulted in the withdrawal of the order for rebuilding the synagogue, but later on Theodosius issued an edict securing toleration to the Jews and ordering the punishment

Attitude of Constantine towards the Jews.

Constantius.

Theodosius I.

Ambrose.

[1] "Quia, cum ipsi Judæi sint servi Ecclesiæ." *Summa* 2, 2, q. 10, 10.

[2] Milman, *H. of the J.* iii. p. 352 n.

[3] *Codex Theod.* xvi. 8.

[4] Ibid. In this decree he refers to Judaism as a "nefaria secta."

[5] *Ep.* i. 40. See Migne, *P. L.* xvi. col. 1106, "perfidiæ locus, impietatis domus, amentiæ receptaculum."

of any who should attempt to destroy synagogues.[1] He also ordered that a Jew was not to be summoned before a court on the Sabbath day.

Theodosius II. Theodosius II prohibited Jews from building new synagogues, and enforced their disability for all State employments.

Theodoric. Theodoric, the Gothic king of Italy (489), who was an Arian, openly protected the Jews and restrained the Christians in Rome, Milan and Genoa from injuring their synagogues.[2] When the Jews of Genoa asked permission to restore their synagogue, Theodoric replied, "Why do you desire that which you should avoid? We accord you indeed the permission you ask, but we blame the wish which is tainted with error. We cannot command religion, however, nor compel anyone to believe contrary to his conscience." A

Pope Gregory. century later Pope Gregory reproves the bishop of Terracina[3] for interfering with the observance of Jewish solemnities, and rebukes those who had forcibly placed an image of the Virgin in a synagogue at Cagliari.[4] He urged that the Jews must be won to the Christian faith by tenderness and kindness and that threats and terror would only serve to repel them. When the bishops of Marseilles and Arles had compelled Jews in their dioceses to accept baptism Gregory wrote positively forbidding them to do so.[5] Gregory did not however altogether forgo the use of material means in order to secure conversions, as he offered remission of taxation to all converted Jews and enforced the law

[1] *Codex Theod.* xvi. 1, 12.
[2] See Theodoric Edict. 143; Cassiodorus Var. v. 37, ii. 27 and iv. 33.
[3] *Ep.* lib. i. 34.
[4] *Ep.* vii. 11, 5.
[5] *Ep.* i. 45.

which prohibited Jews from owning Christian slaves. The attitude of the popes towards the Jews during the following centuries varied greatly, but on the whole it was kinder than was that of the temporal rulers throughout Europe. Innocent III (1198-1216) in 1199 issued an edict directing that the Jews were to be protected and in no case to be forced to accept baptism,[1] but later on his attitude changed, and in a letter to the Count of Nevers in 1208 he declared them to be under the wrath of God, branded with the curse of Cain and guilty of the blood of the Redeemer.[2] He eventually initiated a persecution of the Jews which soon spread far outside Italy. He was the first to order that every Jew should wear a distinctive badge. Pope Nicholas III (d. 1280) restrained the Franciscans who had begun to demand the forcible conversion of the Jews, and, appealing to the examples of his predecessors, he decreed that the Jews were to be protected in their rights, their property and their religion, and that no violence was to be used in order to secure their conversion to Christianity.[3] Clement IV (1265-68) complained that a certain number of Christians had become Jews, and commanded the Inquisition to punish these apostates and the Jews who had abetted their action. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries several papal Bulls were issued which were directed against the Jews.

Innocent III.

Nicholas III.

Clement IV.

Martin V (1417-31) restrained the monks who had tried to force Jews to be baptized by preventing Christians from trafficking with them, and annulled

Martin V.

[1] *Epist.* ii. 302; Migne, *P. L.* ccxiv. col. 804.

[2] *Epist.* x. 190; Migne, *P. L.* ccxv. col. 1291.

[3] *Bullarium*, anno 1278.

the order of the General of the Dominicans which compelled Jews to listen to Christian sermons. A Bull issued by him from Mantua, with the object of protecting the Jews, begins with the words: "Since the Jews are made in the image of God, since a remnant of them shall be saved, since, further, their trading is profitable to Christians, since they solicit our countenance and our compassion, thus will we . . ."

Corneglio burnt in Rome.

In the time of Pope Julius III (1550-55) a Franciscan friar named Corneglio became a Jew and began to preach in Rome against Christianity. He was seized and burned and, as his conversion was attributed to his having read the Talmud, copies of this were publicly burned at Rome, Venice and Bologna.

The Jews forced to hear sermons.

In the time of Gregory XIII (1572-85) special sermons designed to convert the Jews were instituted in several places, when men, women and children above the age of twelve were forced to be present.[1] These sermons were usually delivered by baptized Jews who had become friars or priests and in some cases the Jews were compelled to listen to these sermons delivered in their own synagogues. The preaching of such sermons was finally abolished by Gregory XVI (1831-46). Under the influence of Napoleon I a more liberal policy was adopted towards the Jews in Italy, but on the accession of Pius VII (1800-23) they were deprived of their liberty and confined to the ghettos. The revolution of 1848 helped to better their prospects, and, although this was followed by a reaction, their condition in Italy gradually improved.

[1] See Browning's poem on "Holy-Cross Day."

France

One of the earliest references to Jews in France is the statement of Honoratus that on the occasion of the funeral of Hilary of Arles in 449 Jews and Christians mingled in the crowds, and that the Jews sang Psalms in the Hebrew language.[1] The statement suggests that kindly relations had existed between the Jews and the bishop of Arles.

Jews at Arles in 449.

The Council of Vannes (465) forbade clergy to partake of the meals of the Jews or to invite them to their houses,[2] a restriction which was apparently not observed, as in 506, at the Council of Agda, reference was made to clergy who participated in Jewish feasts.[3] The third Council of Orleans (538) forbade Jews to appear in the streets or to hold intercourse with Christians from Maundy Thursday to Easter Monday.[4] The fourth Council of Orleans (541) decreed that whenever a Jew made a proselyte or reconverted a Jew who had been baptized, or acquired a Christian slave, or converted to Judaism anyone born of Christian parents, he should be punished by the loss of all his slaves.[5]

Restrictions imposed by early Councils.

The first Frankish king to persecute Jews was Childebert. In 555 he rebuked Ferreol bishop of Limoges for having displayed too great kindness towards the Jews whom he had striven to convert to Christianity. Ferreol thereupon ordered the Jews to assemble in the church of St. Theodoric where he preached to them, with the result that a certain number

Persecutions by Childebert.

[1] *Vita Hilarii*, 22.
[2] Mansi, *Concil.* vii. 954.
[3] Mansi, *Concil.* viii. 331.
[4] Mansi, *Concil.* ix. 19.
[5] Mansi, *Concil.* ix. 118. In the early Middle Ages the Jews were often the principal slave dealers.

and Chilperic.

of them were baptized. The rest were expelled from the city. Chilperic, king of Paris and Soissons, compelled many Jews to be baptized in 582, and his example was followed by Virgilius of Arles and Theodore of Marseilles in their respective dioceses. The fifth Council of Paris (615) decreed that no Jew was to hold any public office with Christians subordinate to him unless he and all his family were baptized.[1] It was further enacted that any Jew who should undertake to exercise any authority over Christians should be baptized by the bishop of the town in which he lived.[2] Dagobert (*circ.* 630) commanded all Jews to abandon their religion, or to leave his kingdom, but his order was not generally enforced. Under the reign of Charlemagne, and still more under that of Louis his successor, the Jews obtained great influence, the confidential adviser of the latter being a Jewish physician named Zedekiah. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons (813-41), was compelled to withdraw the restrictions which he had caused to be placed upon the Jews in that city. In a petition of remonstrance, which he addressed to the king, he complains that the Jewish had many more hearers than the Christian preachers and were held by the uninstructed to be the better preachers. He maintained, in the course of a long theological argument, the wisdom and justice of persecuting the Jews, to whom he refers as detestable enemies of truth and worse than all infidels.[3]

Fifth Council of Paris, 615.

Dagobert.

Charlemagne.

[1] Can. xv.

[2] "Quod si tentaverit, ab episcopo civitatis illius . . . cum omni familia gratiam baptismi consequatur."

[3] Agobardi Opera, *De insolentia Judæorum*, v. Migne, *P. L.* civ. col. 76. He concludes his argument with the words "Ex quibus demonstratur quam detestabiles habendi sint inimici veritatis, et quomodo pejores sunt omnibus incredulis, scripturis divinis hoc docentibus."

Archbp. Amilo.

Under his successor Archbishop Amilo so many Jewish children were kidnapped by the Christians of Lyons that the Jews had to send their children away to a distance to be educated.[1] During the ninth century the treatment of the Jews in France became steadily worse. As an illustration of the fact that many of the clergy looked upon the persecution of the Jews as a religious duty we may note the words uttered by a so-called Christian preacher at Beziers at the beginning of Holy Week. Speaking from the pulpit he said, "You have around you those who crucified the Messiah, who deny Mary the Mother of God. Now is the time when you should feel most deeply the iniquity of which Christ was the victim. This is the day on which our Prince has graciously given us permission to avenge this crime. Like your pious ancestors, hurl stones at the Jews, and show your sense of His wrongs by the vigour with which you resent them."[2]

Treatment of the Jews at Beziers.

Persecution by the Crusaders.

At the time of the first Crusade the Jews in Rouen, men, women and children alike, were shut up in a church, and all who refused to receive baptism were murdered.[3] After suffering much cruelty at the hands of the Crusaders the Jews in France in 1236 appealed for help to Pope Gregory IX who expressed his indignation at the barbarities which had been perpetrated. Seldom did a Pope exercise his authority in a more righteous cause. In the course of his letter he wrote: "The Crusaders instead of arming themselves, body and soul, for a war which was to be carried on in the name of the Lord . . . had executed godless judgment

Remonstrance by Pope Gregory IX.

[1] See Milman, *Hist. of the J.* iii. 142.

[2] Quoted by Milman, iii. 169, from *Chronic. Gaufredi Vosiensis.* Bouquet, xii. 194.

[3] Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua*, l. ii. cap. 5.

against the Jews. But in so doing they had not considered that Christians must derive the evidences of their faith from the archives of the Jews, and that the Lord would not reject His people for ever, but a remnant of them should be saved. Not considering this, they had acted as if they meant to exterminate them from the earth and with unheard-of cruelty had butchered 2500 persons of all ages and sexes. And in extenuation of this atrocious crime, they affirmed that they had done so, and threatened to do worse, because the Jews would not be baptized. They did not consider that while Christ excludes no nation and no race from the salvation which He came to bring to all mankind, still, as everything depends on the inward operation of divine grace, as the Lord has mercy on whom He will have mercy, no man should be forced to receive baptism; for, as man fell by his own free will, yielding to the temptation to sin, so with his own free will he must follow the call of divine grace in order to be recovered from his fall."[1]

Massacre of Jews at Trèves.

When the Crusaders, under the guidance of Peter the Hermit, assembled at Trèves, they massacred relentlessly every Jew that they could find. A few survivors fled for protection to Bishop Engelbert, who said to them, "Wretches, your sins have come upon you; ye who have blasphemed the Son of God and calumniated His Mother." He then offered them protection on condition that they should receive baptism, a condition which in their terror a number of them accepted.

In 1181 the King Philip Augustus banished all Jews

[1] Raynaldi, *Annales*, anno 1236, 48.

from France, but within twenty years his need of money induced him to invite them to return. This they did only to be expelled again a few years later. In the reign of Louis IX, St. Louis (1226-70), the Jews were long and bitterly persecuted. Believing that their religion was embodied in the Talmud, the king issued an edict that all copies of this work should be burnt, and twenty-four cartloads of Talmuds were accordingly burnt in Paris.

Jews banished from France, 1181.

Louis IX burns copies of the Talmud.

In 1791 a bill was at length passed by the parliament of the Revolution by which Jews were recognized as possessing equal rights with all other citizens.

Emancipation of the Jews, 1791.

Spain

In no country in Europe did the Jews suffer such cruel persecutions at the hand of so-called Christians as befell them in Spain. One of the earliest indications of their presence in this country is afforded by the decrees passed at the Council of Elvira, which prohibited Christians from eating or intermarrying with Jews and directed that agriculturists were not to allow Jews to pronounce a blessing upon their crops.[1] At the third Council of Toledo (589) the decree relating to intermarriage was repeated, and Jews were forbidden to have Christian slaves, and, if a Jew and a Christian had a child, it was ordered that the child must be brought up as a Christian. Sisebut, who became king in 612, ordered that all Jews should submit to baptism within a year, the penalty for refusing being scourging, mutilation, banishment and confisca-

Decrees of Council of Elvira.

King Sisebut.

[1] See Canons of Elvira, xvi., l., xlix. See above, page 272 f.

tion of goods. He threatens with the penalty of excommunication any bishop, priest or monk who should help or defend a Jew. A later, but untrustworthy, writer asserts that as a result of Sisebut's persecutions 90,000 Jews were baptized.[1] A protest against the king's action was raised by Isidore, bishop of Seville, who declared that the policy of forcing Jews to become Christians was not according to knowledge.[2] At the fourth Council of Toledo (633), which was largely influenced by Isidore, a decree relating to the conversion of Jews was passed which is the most liberal that can be found in Spanish history. The Council decreed that "men ought not to be compelled to believe, because God will have mercy on those on whom He will have mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth. As man fell by his own free will in listening to the wiles of the serpent, so man can only be converted by his free acceptance of the Christian faith."[3] In contravention, however, of the spirit of this decree, the Council directed that all Jews who had received baptism under compulsion must continue to be Christians, and passed a series of enactments placing Jews under cruel disabilities. In 637 King Chintila passed a law that none but Catholics should reside in his kingdom. In 638 the sixth Council of Toledo decreed that no one henceforth should be elected as king who did not take an oath that he would never permit Judaism, or heresy, to exist in the kingdom.[4] In 654 King Recceswinth com-

Protest by Bishop Isidore.

4th Council of Toledo.

King Chintila, 637.

6th Council of Toledo, 638.

King Recceswinth, 654.

[1] See Milman, *Hist of the J.* iii. 104 n.

[2] "Judæos ad fidem Christianam permovens æmulationem quidem habuit, sed non secundum scientiam. Potestate enim compulit quos provocare fidei ratione opportuit." Isidore, vii. 126; Migne, *P. L.* lxxxiii. col. 1075.

[3] Canon lviii.; see Mansi, *Conc.* x. 633.

[4] Canon iii.; see Mansi, *Conc.* xii. 102.

pelled the Jews who had become nominal Christians to promise that they would not observe any Jewish customs and would not have dealings or converse with unbaptized Jews. They were also compelled to promise that they would themselves burn, or stone, any of their number who observed any such customs. The seventeenth Council of Toledo in 694 ordered that the Jews should be sold as slaves and that their goods should be confiscated as a punishment for having reverted to Judaism after having received baptism, and for having conspired against the kingdom.[1] It was further decreed that all Jewish Christians under seven years of age should be seized and, after being brought up as Christians, should be married to Christians. The charge of conspiring against the kingdom was based on reports that the Jews had been in communication with the Saracens and were prepared to assist them in the event of their invading Spain. In view of the treatment which they had themselves received, it was but natural that they should welcome the overthrow of their oppressors. With the conquest of Spain by the Mussulmans the condition of the Jews was completely reversed. The Mussulmans showed them gratitude for the help they had received in conquering the kingdom by removing all disabilities and promoting them to positions of honour. Milman denotes the period which followed the conquests of the Caliphs as "the golden age of the modern Jews." "Everywhere," he writes, "we behold the Jews not only pursuing unmolested their lucrative and enterprising traffic . . . but suddenly emerging to offices of dignity and trust, ad-

17th Council of Toledo, 694.

Kindly treatment by the Moors.

The "golden age" of the Jews in Spain.

[1] Canon viii.

ministering the finances of Christian and Mohammedan kingdoms, and travelling as ambassadors between mighty sovereigns." [1]

This prosperity lasted without interruption in Spain till the middle of the eleventh century, when a Jew named Hallevi in the kingdom of Granada attempted to convert some Moslems to Judaism. As a result "the stern orthodoxy of Islam took fire, the rash teachers were hanged, the race persecuted, and 1500 families, of whom it was said that he who had not heard of their splendour, their glory and their prosperity had heard nothing, sank into disgrace and destitution." [2] Later on when the Moors were conquered by the Christians the Jews were for a time unmolested. It is significant to note that during the period of advancing education and culture, when the persecution of the Jews by Christians ceased, the conversions of Jews to Christianity tended to increase.[3] In 1296 the passions of the populace were aroused against them, and the streets of Toledo ran with Jewish blood, while their synagogues [4] were pillaged or destroyed.

Massacre of Jews by Moslems.

Massacre by Christians at Toledo, 1296.

Alfonso the Wise of Seville (1252-84) treated the Jews with kindness and gave them some Mohammedan mosques to use as synagogues. James of Arragon gave permission to a monk named Paul to preach Christianity in all the Jewish synagogues, and to receive his travelling expenses out of the tribute paid by the Jews to the Church. Needless to relate his preaching was not followed by conversions to his faith. According

Preaching in Jewish synagogues.

[1] Milman, *Hist. of the J.* iii. 117.

[2] Milman, *Hist. of the J.* iii. 173.

[3] Jost, ix. 249. He writes, "Die fortschreitende Bildung erleichtete den Juden den Übertritt zur Kirche."

[4] The magnificent synagogue at Cordova became the church of St. Benet.

to Jost, the Jewish historian, the Jewish population in Spain at the end of the thirteenth century numbered half a million. They must therefore have constituted a considerable proportion of the entire population. In 1391 the Christians of Seville, stirred up by the fanatical preaching of Martinez archdeacon of Ecija, attacked and massacred 4000 Jews, including men, women and children. Similar massacres were perpetrated in the following year in Cordova, Valencia, Toledo and Burgos, when the Jewish inhabitants of these towns suffered "plunder, rape, massacre and conflagration." Many Jews at this time submitted to baptism in order to save their lives or those of their families. At Barcelona, during the celebration of the Feast of St. Dominic, the populace attacked and endeavoured to exterminate the whole Jewish population, and all who would not submit to baptism were murdered. "Amid the shrieks of their more faithful dying brethren many abjured their faith . . . and embraced that of Christ thus preached to them by the Mohammedan argument of the sword." "Which," asks Milman, "were the least Christian, those who enforced, or those who embraced the faith?"[1] This last rising was condemned and to some extent punished by John I the king of Arragon. It is stated that about 200,000 Jews in all accepted baptism in Spain at this time as an alternative to a violent death. Amidst these ghastly massacres one voice at least was raised pleading for the employment of more Christlike means in order to secure the conversion of the Jews. A Dominican monk, Vincent Ferrer, afterwards canonized as a saint, went from

Jewish population in Spain.

A series of massacres.

The preaching of Vincent Ferrer.

[1] *Hist. of the J.* iii. 288.

place to place followed by a train of bare-headed penitents, who bewailed their sins and scourged themselves till the ground was reddened with their blood. His miracles and preaching are said by the later monkish historians to have resulted in the conversion of 35,000 Jews. He was present at, though he disapproved of, the massacre of Jews which took place at Valencia in 1391. In 1413, in the presence of the anti-pope Benedict XIII, a public disputation took place between the Jews and Christians in Tortosa, at which both sides claimed to have prevailed in argument. Soon afterwards Benedict issued a Bull ordering the destruction of all copies of the Talmud and prohibiting Jews from following any occupation which would bring them into contact with Christians. King John II in 1443 issued a decree with the object of protecting the Jews from the violence of the clergy. In 1460 Bishop Don Juan Arias d'Avila caused sixteen Jews to be burned or hanged, and massacres of Jews soon afterwards occurred throughout Andalusia and Castile. In 1487 Pope Nicholas IV protested against the compulsory baptism and ill-treatment of the Jews in Spain, but his protest failed to produce any lasting results. In 1480 the Inquisition was first established in Seville, and the Inquisitors immediately began to inquire into the beliefs of the Jews who had recently been converted to the Christian faith, but who were suspected of retaining an attachment to some of their former beliefs or practices. Large numbers of these were put to death, after suffering extremity of torture, both in Seville and throughout Spain.[1] In 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella

A public disputation.

Establishment of the Inquisition, 1480.

[1] During the régime of Torquemada the Inquisitor-General of Castile and Arragon, which lasted twenty years, 10,220 persons, most of whom were

issued a decree ordering all Jews to leave Spain. When Abarbanel, one of the most learned of the Jews, besought Isabella to rescind this decree and offered a large sum of money, the chief Inquisitor, Thomas de Torquemada, advanced with a crucifix in his hand into the royal presence and said, "Behold Him whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver. Sell ye Him now for a higher price and render an account of your bargain before God."[1] The number of Jews who were driven out of Spain at this time has been variously estimated at from 166,000 to 800,000. Probably the first estimate approximates to the correct number. They fled to Italy, to the north coast of Africa and to Portugal, but many died of exhaustion or starvation before they reached any place of safety. Ere long (1495) the king of Portugal ordered that all Jews under fourteen years of age should be torn from their parents, and, having been baptized, should be scattered throughout the country, and that all adult Jews should be expelled. According to a Jewish authority the Dominicans promised to every one who would murder a Jew that his sufferings in purgatory should be limited to 100 days. But, though all the Jews were ordered to leave and those who were found subsequently were murdered or sold as slaves, the Jews who had become nominal Christians continued to hand down to their descendants a belief in Judaism and a respect for Jewish observances. Moreover, as those of Jewish descent largely intermarried with the other races in Spain, it came about that most of the principal families

Expulsion of the Jews, 1492.

The Jews in Portugal.

Judaism a permanent factor in Spain.

Jews, were burnt, 6,860 were condemned and burnt in effigy as absent or dead, and 97,321 suffered other punishments.

[1] See Milman, *Hist of the J.* iii. 309.

in Spain had Jewish blood in their veins. As an illustration of the long-continued adherence to Judaism on the part of Christian bishops, clergy and others we may quote the statements made by Borrow as late as 1842. In answer to a question addressed by him to a Jew named Abarbanel, "Have you reason to suppose that many of you are to be found amongst the priesthood?" the Jew replies, "Not to suppose, but to know it. There are many such as I amongst the priesthood and not amongst the inferior priesthood either; some of the most learned and famed of them in Spain have been of us, or of our blood at least, and many of them at this day think as I do."[1] On another occasion an aged priest whom Borrow met, and who had himself been an Inquisitor, said to him, "There is plenty of Judaism amongst the priesthood. . . . I remember once searching the house of an ecclesiastic who was accused of Judaism . . . and on being questioned the culprit made no secret of his guilt, but rather gloried in it, saying that there was no God but one, and denouncing the adoration of Maria Santissima as rank idolatry."[2]

Testimony of Borrow.

England

We are constrained to admit that the treatment of Jews in England and the nature of the attempts that were made to secure their conversion to Christianity did not differ materially from those which prevailed elsewhere in Europe. One of the first references to the Jews in England[3] is the decree issued by Egbert

Early references to Jews in England.

[1] *The Bible in Spain*, chap. xi. p. 114 (ed. pub. by Lane in 1900).

[2] Id. chap. xvii. p. 174.

[3] For a possible reference to Jews in England in the second century, see above, p. 85.

archbishop of York in 740, which prohibited Christians from attending Jewish feasts. According to William of Malmesbury William Rufus caused much distress to his Christian subjects by the intercourse which he maintained with Jews. He appointed a public debate in London between Christians and Jews and "swore by the face of holy Lucca" that, if in open controversy the arguments adduced by the Jews should prevail, he would adopt their religion. The Jews afterwards boasted that they had prevailed in argument.[1] In the twelfth century charges began to be brought against the Jews similar to those which have been brought and are still being brought against them in other countries in Europe. They were accused of ritual murders, one of their imaginary victims being afterwards known as St. William of Norwich.[2]

William Rufus.

Accusations of ritual murders.

The friars, who did much to secure volunteers for the Crusades, inflamed the minds of the people against the Jews, whom they often depicted as being equal in crime with the Saracens. In the course of an attack made upon Jews who tried to defend themselves at York a canon of the Premonstratensian Order, arrayed in his surplice, stood in the midst of the Christians and shouted aloud, "Destroy the enemies of Christ, destroy the enemies of Christ." His words so infuriated the crowd that many of the Jews, terrified by their

Attitude of the friars.

[1] Willelmi Malmesbiriensis, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, lib. iv. 317.

[2] See *Saxon Chronicle*, anno 1137. The chronicler writes, "The Jews of Norwich bought a Christian child before Easter, and tortured him with all the torments wherewith our Lord was tortured, and they crucified him on Good Friday for the love of our Lord. . . . Our Lord made manifest that he was a holy martyr and buried him honourably in the monastery, and he performed manifold and wonderful miracles through the power of our Lord, and he is called St. William."

threats, committed suicide in order to avoid falling alive into their hands.[1] It was estimated that at least 500 Jews perished in York on this occasion.

Massacre at York.

King John.

King John, after first encouraging Jews to settle in England, began in 1210 to treat them with great cruelty and to imprison them indiscriminately, his motives in both instances being dictated by avarice. It is distressing to note that in the following reign the persecution which was carried on against the Jews originated in most instances with the Church authorities, and that these latter had often to be restrained by the Crown or its officials.

Stephen Langton.

Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, prohibited all Christians, on pain of ecclesiastical censure, from selling to Jews even the necessaries of life. In 1232 Henry the Third founded a House in Chancery Lane for the maintenance of Jews converted to Christianity. During this reign the Jews were accused of having murdered a boy named Hugh at Lincoln, with the result that large numbers were hanged and the boy was canonized as a saint. A Jew having seized and trampled upon a cross at Oxford, the Jews of that city were compelled to provide a gilt image of the Virgin and Child to be erected in the grounds of Merton College. To the credit of the Franciscans it should be recorded that in 1256 certain members of this order took the part of some Jews who had been unjustly charged with the commission of crimes and had been imprisoned. The people, resenting the action of the Franciscans, refused thereafter to give them alms.[2]

Franciscans protect Jews.

In 1282 Archbishop Peckham closed all the Jewish

[1] See Milman, *Hist. of the J.* iii. 235 f. [2] See Matthew Paris, anno 1256.

synagogues in his diocese. Edward I, in compliance with a petition made by the Dominican friars, issued instructions, the object of which was to compel the Jews to listen to Christian sermons to be preached by the friars.[1] In 1286 Pope Honorius IV addressed a letter to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York rebuking them for the failure of the clergy to stop intercourse between Christians and the perfidious Jews, and pointing out the danger arising from the reading of the Talmud. One result of this letter was a series of enactments against the Jews passed by the Synod of Exeter in 1287. In 1290 Edward I issued a decree of banishment against all the Jews in the kingdom, and 16,000 Jews were shortly afterwards expelled. Although individual Jews subsequently visited, or even resided in, England, the Jews as a race were excluded till 1655, when they were invited back by Cromwell. On returning to London they requested permission to build a synagogue, and, according to popular rumour at the time, offered £500,000 if they might have St. Paul's cathedral as their synagogue. Before granting their request to be allowed a synagogue, Cromwell summoned them to meet him in the presence of representative clergy and merchants. The clergy inveighed against the Jews as being an accursed people, whereupon Cromwell, after stating that England was the only country in which pure religion was then taught, asked if it were not a duty to encourage them to settle where they could be taught the truth, and not to exclude them from light by leaving them amongst false teachers, papists and idolaters.

Jews compelled to hear sermons.

Expulsion of the Jews, 1290.

Invited back by Cromwell, 1655.

[1] *Anglia Judaica*, p. 219.

A bill to naturalize Jews, 1753.

A century later, in 1753, a bill passed through Parliament allowing Jews to become naturalized as British subjects, but the protests raised against it by the clergy and people caused its repeal in the following year.

Central Europe

Massacres by German Crusaders.

The first religious persecution of the Jews that took place on a large scale in Germany occurred at the close of the eleventh century, when the first Crusaders were assembling under the direction of Peter the Hermit. On this occasion Jews were massacred in Spiers, Worms, Cologne and other cities. In Worms about 800 were killed, the only persons who were saved being young children who were then forcibly baptized. In Cologne and one or two other places the bishops interfered and endeavoured to protect them, but as the Crusaders marched eastwards they left behind in many places the corpses of the Jews whom they had massacred. About 12,000 Jews are said to have perished in the Rhenish cities alone between May and July 1096.[1] In Hungary King Coloman tried in vain to check the cruelty of the Crusaders. Half a century later, when the Jews had begun to recover their material prosperity, a monk named Rudolph passed through the cities of Germany and incited the inhabitants to murder the Jews in their midst. Amongst those who remonstrated against such wickedness was St. Bernard of Clairvaux who, in a letter to the clergy and people of France, in 1146 urged that the Jews ought not to be persecuted or even driven into exile.[2] "The Jews," he writes, "are scattered in

Remonstrance by Bernard of Clairvaux.

[1] *The Jewish Encyclopædia*, v. 632.

[2] St. Bernard, *Epp.* 363: Migne, *P. L.* clxxxii.

all countries in order that while they pay the just penalty of their great crime, they may be witnesses of our redemption," but, as he goes on to say, there is a promise of universal restoration. In a further letter in reply to the arguments of Rudolph he wrote, "Does not the Church obtain a richer victory over the Jews by daily bringing them over from their errors, or converting them, than if by the sword she destroyed them once for all and at a single blow?"[1] The final result of Bernard's interference was that Rudolph was shut up in his cloister and forcibly prevented from doing further harm.

Frederic II protected the Jews and instituted a formal investigation to discover whether it was consonant with Jewish custom to murder children on the Day of the Passover. As a result the Jews were formally acquitted of this charge. During his reign (in 1248) Innocent IV issued a Bull addressed to the bishops and nobles of Germany, in which he alludes scornfully to the charges of ritual murder made against the Jews and denounces the cruelties that had been perpetrated against them. He declares that God was still awaiting their conversion and orders that they should not be further molested.[2] At the Council of Vienna in 1267 Christians were forbidden to have any social intercourse with Jews and the Jews were forbidden to build any new synagogues.[3] During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries their existence in the various towns is made known by the lists of massacres, and occasionally by the protective edicts,

Frederic II protects the Jews.

Bull of Innocent IV.

Council of Vienna, 1267.

[1] *Ep.* cccxlv.; Migne, *P. L.* clxxxii. col. 570.

[2] *Epp. Innocent IV.*, 84.

[3] Mansi, *Conc.*, anno 1267.

that have been preserved. During the fifteenth century their condition gradually improved and in the sixteenth century, when the Roman Church was engaged in fighting the Reformers, they were allowed to live in comparative peace. Luther's attitude (to which a reference has already been made[1]) varied at different periods of his life. At one time he reprobated the use of violence, but at another time, later on in his life, he wrote in reply to one who had asked, How ought Christians to treat Jews? "Burn their synagogues and schools; what will not burn bury with earth, that neither stone nor rubbish remain. In like manner break into and destroy their houses. Take away all their prayer-books and Talmuds, in which are nothing but godlessness, lies, cursing and swearing. Forbid their rabbis to teach on pain of life and limb."[2]

Attitude of Luther.

In 1666 the fame of Sabbathai, a Jew from Smyrna, who pretended to be the Messiah, spread throughout Central Europe and created much excitement. Crossing over to Constantinople, he obtained an interview with the Sultan, who proposed to put his claims to the test by shooting three poisoned arrows at him. Sabbathai then, under fear of death, declared himself a Mussulman and many of his followers copied his example. He died at Belgrade in 1676.

Sabbathai, "the Messiah," 1666.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century a Jew was born in the neighbourhood of The Hague whose fame spread far and wide and whose name is associated with the teaching of pantheism. Spinoza was expelled from the Jewish community as an apostate, but, though he treated the Gospels with reverence, he could not

Spinoza.

[1] See above, p. 541.

[2] See Milman's *Hist. of the J.* iii. 325 f.

at any period of his life have been called a Christian. During his lifetime and the generation that followed him " the world contented itself with the contemptuous sarcasm that his system was only the philosophic dream of an obscure Jew ; " [1] but as time passed and his works were translated from Latin into German the influence exerted by his teaching became wide and deep.

Jews in Poland and Galicia.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century Poland and Galicia contained a large Jewish population, many Jews having settled in these provinces after being expelled from Hungary, Moravia, Bohemia, and other countries. These included many descendants of those who had with difficulty escaped massacre at the hands of the Crusaders. John Sobieski and several other rulers had looked on them with favour and discouraged attempts to convert them by force or to interfere with their trade and industry. In 1655, when the Duke of Muscovy invaded Poland, 8000 Jews allowed themselves to be baptized ; the rest, 4000 in number, who refused to accept baptism were burned alive.

Massacre of Polish Jews, 1655.

Russia

Jews in Russia.

The Jews have fared badly in Russia from very early times, but to the credit of the Russian Church it should be stated that the occasions for massacring them have seldom been furnished, as in other European countries, by their refusal to accept baptism, nor has physical force been used to compel them to become members of the Russian Church. From the writings of Ilarion, who was Metropolitan of Kiev in the first half of the

[1] Milman, *Hist. of the J.* iii. 381.

eleventh century, we gather that he found it necessary to take steps in order to combat the spread of Judaism. In 1470 the Jew Skhariyah (Zacharias) converted to Judaism the Christian priest Dionis in Novgorod. A little later, about 1490, several leading clergy were converted, with the result that much antipathy was aroused against the Jews. The converts came to include Zozimus, the Metropolitan of Russia. These continued to conduct Christian services in public, though in secret they denied all distinctive Christian doctrines. At a council held at Moscow they were convicted of having become Jews, and were afterwards led through the streets and exposed to the ridicule and insults of the crowd, but none of them were executed.[1] It would be impossible to name any other country in Europe in which at this period these proselytes to Judaism would not have been put to death.

Russian clergy converted to Judaism, 1490.

The first severe persecution of Jews occurred in the reign of Ivan the Terrible (1533-84). After his conquest of Polotsk he ordered that all Jews who should refuse to become Christians should be drowned in the Duna. We do not, however, read that this order was carried into effect.

Persecution under Ivan the Terrible.

In 1676 Archbishop Nikon wrote to the Czar Alexis complaining that "a number of baptized Jews, who had been admitted to monasteries, had begun again to practise their old Jewish religion and to demoralize the young monks."

Catharine I (1725-27) issued an edict ordering the expulsion of all Jews from Russia, her motive being

Expulsion of the Jews by Catharine.

[1] See *Histoire de l'Empire de Russie*, par M. de Karamsin (French translation), vol. vi. pp. 242-250.

apparently a religious one. Under her successors this order was practically annulled. Elizabeth (1741-62), in an edict expelling Jews from little Russia, stated that "no other fruit may be expected from the haters of Christ the Saviour's name than extreme injury to our faithful subjects." Under Nicolas I (1825-55) efforts were made to compel the Jews to accept baptism. Baptized Jews were exempted from the payment of taxes for three years, and the law relating to service in the army was made to bear much more hardly upon Jews than upon Christians. The later persecutions directed against the Jews in Russia and Poland have been due to political or social rather than religious causes, and do not therefore come within our purview.

Efforts to convert Jews.

A few particulars should, however, be added in regard to the recent efforts that have been made to convert Jews in Russia. Russia contains at the present time nearly half the Jewish population of the world,[1] the vast majority of whom are to be found in Russian Poland, as, prior to the conquest of Poland, Jews were forbidden to live in Russia itself. Until quite recently the Jewish Pale, in which alone their right to reside was legally recognised, did not extend beyond the sixteen western provinces. The earliest mission to the Jews was started by the Orthodox Church in 1817 with the express approval of Alexander I, and the first missionary, S. C. Moritz, himself a converted Jew, baptized many of his co-religionists. In 1821 the London Jews Society started work in Poland. Their work was interrupted for twenty years as a result of

Mission to Jews in Russia.

A Mission of the Orthodox Church, 1817.

Other Missions.

[1] According to the Jewish Year Book for 1911 the total number of Jews was 11,861,386, of whom 5,215,805 were living in Russia.

the Crimean war, but was afterwards resumed. The Lutheran Church in Poland and in Livonia has also carried on a limited work amongst Jews, and the London Mildmay Mission has opened book depôts in Poland by means of which their colporteurs have been brought into touch with many Jews. During the nineteenth century 69,400 Jews were admitted by baptism as members of the Orthodox Church, but, with comparatively few exceptions, these conversions were the result of political pressure. During the same period the representatives of the London Jews Society baptized 769 Jews in Warsaw. One result of the persecution to which the Jews have been exposed in Russia, and of their limitation to the Jewish Pale, has been to create within them an ardent desire to repossess their former land. It may well be that, as Zangwill has suggested, Pale may prove to be for them Providence's way of spelling Palestine.

Baptism of Jews.

Zionism.

Enfranchisement of the Jews, 1917.

It is pleasing to record that one of the first proclamations issued by the Revolutionary Government in March 1917 announced the removal of all political and religious restrictions from the Jewish communities in Russia.

Distribution of the Jews in Europe.

Before concluding this brief sketch of the attempts that were made by Christians to convert Jews in the different parts of Europe, it may be of interest to notice other efforts that are being made by missionary societies to-day to secure the same object, albeit by very different means. Of the 12,000,000 Jews in the world, 9,000,000 live in Europe. Of these again rather more than 5,000,000 live in Russia, whilst 250,000 live in Great Britain, London alone containing 140,000. Of the

25 or 30 societies which exist in Europe for this purpose the largest is the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews, which was founded in 1809 and has centres of work in the chief European countries as well as in North Africa, Palestine, Syria, and Persia. We have already alluded to the work amongst Jews which has been attempted in Russia. Missions to the Jews are still on a very small scale: the total number of missionaries supported by European and American societies does not exceed 500 men and 350 women. It has often been asserted that no missionary work has been less fruitful in results than that which has been carried on amongst the Jews. However just this statement may be as a comment upon the methods formerly employed for converting the Jews, it has now ceased to be true. Dr Eugene Stock writes: "Relatively to the numbers of the Jewish race the converts are as numerous as those from the heathen and much more than those from the Mohammedans. It is estimated that at least 250 Anglican clergymen are converted Jews or the sons of converted Jews. The London Jews Society alone has 93 on its missionary staff."[1] The list of Christian Jews who were distinguished during the nineteenth century in literature, politics, and missionary enterprise is a long one.[2]

London Jews' Society, 1809.

Results of Missions to the Jews.

Notable Christian Jews.

[1] A short *Handbook of Missions*, p. 155. For a notice of modern Missions to the Jews see *History of Christian Missions* by the author, chap. xxii.

[2] The following are a few whose names are well known: Neander, the German theologian and historian (his original name was Mende, but on the occasion of his baptism he adopted the name Neander, *i.e.* new man); Dr Edersheim, the author of the *Life and Times of the Messiah*; Bishop Schereschewsky, Bishop of Shanghai, a great missionary and translator of the Bible into Chinese; Hellmuth,

We believe that the present war will contribute towards the removal of the political disabilities under which Jews have laboured in many European countries, and towards the obliteration of the age-long antagonism that has existed between them and Christians, and that it will thereby render it possible for them to study the teaching of Jesus Christ with open minds. It is a subject for devout thanksgiving that five million Jews in Russia have been set free from political and religious persecution and have been accorded the right to live the lives of freemen. From the missionary standpoint it is a subject for no less ardent gratitude that, alike in Russia and in other European countries, Jews and Christians have learned through the experiences of the war to understand and to appreciate each other's virtues and each other's religion.

Rapprochement between Jews and Christians.

A Jewish chaplain to the Forces in France, in the course of a sermon preached in the West London Synagogue,[1] referred to the change of attitude which the war was producing amongst the Jews. He said: "It is not merely that toleration is shown of one by the other, but that a sense of brotherhood, mutual understanding and, best of all, mutual admiration, is shown by the Christian for the Jew, and by the Jew for the Christian. As a result of this, men and women of all denominations are going to intermingle in their work and their play immeasurably more than they have hitherto done. . . .

"A Christian padre and I were standing together

Bishop of Huron; Alexander, Bishop in Jerusalem (1841-45); Felix Mendelssohn; Sir William Herschel, the astronomer; Sir Francis Palgrave, the historian poet; Benjamin Disraeli.

[1] The Rev. Vivian G. Simmons. The sermon was reproduced in the *Jewish Chronicle* in Dec. 1916.

behind the trenches the other day performing the last rites, each of us for a soldier of our respective faiths. The shells were flying overhead, and bursting unpleasantly near us, and we both felt the brotherhood of our common danger. We shook hands afterwards, and went our separate ways. Do you think it possible that we can ever regard each other, if we meet again, as strangers or aliens one to the other because we worship God in different ways? Do you know that on many occasions a Christian officer, and often not a chaplain, has taken the Jewish Prayer-book from the pocket of a fallen comrade and has read the Jewish Burial Service?

"At a hospital, which is a Trappist monastery, where one of my colleagues was stationed about a year ago, the Church of England chaplain was away, and so it came about that the colonel conducted the service and my colleague read the lessons and preached a sermon on brotherhood. Just think of it! A Church of England service in a Roman Catholic chapel, most of the worshippers Nonconformists, and the sermon preached by a Jew! At another hospital at one of the bases it was left to a young Jewish nurse to discover that the mortuary was neglected. Thereupon she obtained from England a crucifix and an altar-cloth, and makes it her daily duty to see that the place is kept clean, and gathers flowers with her own hand to beautify this Christian chapel.

"Are not such things eloquent of what the war is doing for religion to-day? Can the Jew remain for the future the despised or unknown quantity that he used to be to the vast majority of Christians

before war turned the hearts of men towards one another ? "

Of the obstacles which the missionary to the Jews has to face, the greatest have been those that have been created by the treatment to which they have been subjected at the hands of professing Christians for many long centuries ; and from a missionary standpoint it may well prove to be the case that the enhanced political and social status of the Jews throughout Europe which will result from this war, will prepare the way for a final and successful effort to interpret to them the teachings of their long unrecognized Messiah.

A new religious era.

CHAPTER XXII

CONCLUSION

The impression produced upon our minds by a study of the work that was accomplished by Christian missionaries in Europe is one of mingled admiration and disappointment. As we study their biographies and other records of their labours, we are constrained to thank God for the great army of missionary saints and heroes who lived and died inspired by His Spirit; but our admiration for their lives and characters cannot blind us to the fact that the results of their labours fell sadly short of their ideals, and that the task which they tried to achieve remains unaccomplished. The conversion of Europe is an event which lies still in the future. The more carefully we study the records of the past, the less surprise shall we feel that the methods by which Christianity was spread throughout Europe resulted in a superficial success, which, in many instances, only fell short of complete failure.

Superficial character of the conversion of Europe.

Few would be prepared to deny that the means by which the conversion of the European nations was in many cases effected differed widely from those which the Founder of Christianity adopted and authorized His followers to adopt. At the supreme crisis of His life, He said, "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." The principle which these words embody

A spiritual kingdom cannot be established by material force.

admits of but one interpretation: nevertheless, in reading the story of the attempts to spread Christ's kingdom throughout Europe, we are again and again confronted with instances in which those who called themselves His servants strove by the employment of material force to enlarge the limits of His kingdom. Is there then cause for surprise that a spiritual kingdom, the establishment of which it was sought to expedite by the use of material force, should from the first have failed to develop in accordance with the design of its Founder? The events that have occurred during the last four years have seemed to some to justify the assertion that Christianity has been tried by the nations of Europe and has failed. For the student of Christian Missions in Europe this statement needs no refutation. It is impossible for him to accept the suggestion that Christianity has been tried and has failed in the case of nations, the conversion of which was accelerated by massacre or persecution; nor can he admit that Christianity has been tried and failed in the case of other nations or peoples, who have never understood its fundamental teachings, and have supposed that a verbal acceptance of its doctrines, apart from a conversion of character, could entitle them to the name of Christians.

Has Christianity been tried and failed?

The present war affords no proof that Christianity was unable to prevent the occurrence of so appalling a catastrophe, but it demonstrates the truth of the assertion that the conversion of Europe as a whole has been superficial, and that its re-conversion is a task that has yet to be faced by the Christian Church.

The re-conversion of Europe.

The experience of missionaries in modern times serves to remind us how much harder it is to uplift,

or to infuse the spirit of Christianity into, a people who have been superficially converted to the faith than it is to secure the conversion of a non-Christian race. To take an illustration from the foreign mission field: there is no more difficult task that confronts Christian missionaries to-day than to promote the conversion of the peoples in Western India whose ancestors have called themselves Christians since the time when Francis Xavier preached to them, but whose standards of life and conduct are often indistinguishable from those of the surrounding Hindus.[1] Those only who believe that the Spirit of God who inspired the first missionaries, is the mightiest factor in the evolution of human history to-day, can regard the task of the re-conversion of Europe as conceivable.

The undue haste displayed by early missionaries.

Unmindful of its Master's words and of the exacting tests which He imposed upon those who would be His disciples, the Church made haste to enrol converts and to extend its boundaries. Its action has passed into history, but we are still experiencing the results of this haste and of the foundations of wood, hay and stubble[2] on which the outward structure of the visible Church was, in not a few instances, built up.

The reasons for discouragement are many and cannot be ignored, but, despite the long series of crimes and shortcomings which disfigure the pages of European history, many of which were perpetrated in the name of religion, we are bold to maintain—to quote the words of the late Lord Acton—that "the action of Christ, who is risen, on mankind whom He redeemed

[1] See *History of Christian Missions*, by the author, pp. 13, 69-74.
[2] 1 Cor. iii. 12.

fails not, but increases."[1] We are fain to believe, moreover, that the war, which now desolates the earth, will usher in a new world of justice and truth and that it will bring to all branches of the Christian Church an unique opportunity for extending the kingdom of God, not only amongst non-Christian peoples, but amongst those who for long centuries have been regarded as citizens of that kingdom. The spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice that has been evoked in the case of many who have fought on both sides in the present struggle, should help to render possible the expansion of what a German missionary recently described as the "supranational kingdom," to which, he added, "we all belong." It has already given to millions of men and women a new outlook upon life, and has taught them to understand the significance of the words, "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."[2] If it shall prove to be the case that the Christian Churches, taught by the disaster which the superficial conversion of Europe to Christianity proved powerless to avert, and inspired by the Christ-like spirit of self-sacrifice which the war has called forth, shall unite in a common international fellowship and in common efforts to secure the adoption of Christian principles, we may look forward to a time, when it may be possible to speak, without any reservation, or consciousness of unreality, of "The Conversion of Europe."

The establishment of the kingdom of God in Europe.

[1] In his inaugural lecture as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, see *Lectures on Modern History*, p. 12.

[2] St. Mark x. 45.

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He maintains that the British missionary to the Picts named Pauldy or Pauldoc, who was educated at Candida Casa, has been confused with Palladius and that the latter never visited Scotland (see p. 48 n., 70, *supra*). The book breaks new ground and throws much light upon the conditions under which missionary work was carried on amongst the Picts.

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DATE LOANED	BORROWER'S NAME
1-19-70	M. Spangler 266
DEC 7 '72	G Bourland T
AUG 30 '89	Aristarchu